

**The Colleton Family
and the Early History
of South Carolina and Barbados**

1646-1775

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Dedication

To the descendants of Sir John Colleton I, especially my mother.

Epigraph

To John Locke,

Secretary to the Palatine Court of Carolina.

No doubt if we hold our ground
but Carolina will excell all other
English plantations. . .

Sir Peter Colleton

Lord Proprietor of Carolina
Deputy Governor of Barbados

28th May 1673

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Barbados</i> | V.T. Harlow, <i>A History of Barbados 1625-1685</i> , (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926). |
| BMHS | Barbados Museum and Historical Society, St Ann's Garrison, Barbados. |
| BM | British Museum |
| <i>Burke's - P</i> | <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of England, Ireland and Scotland</i> (London, 1856). |
| <i>Burke's - L</i> | <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry</i> (London, 1858). |
| <i>Black Majority</i> | Peter H. Wood, <i>Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 thro' the Stono Rebellion</i> , (New York: A. Knopf 1974). |
| <i>Colonial Period</i> | C. M. Andrews, <i>The Colonial Period of American History</i> , 4 Vols., The Settlements, III (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934-38). |
| CCSC | Committee of Correspondence, House of Assembly, South Carolina. |
| "CFSC" | Henry A. M. Smith, "The Colleton Family in South Carolina", <i>South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine</i> , (Charleston), Vol. I (1900), pp. 325-341. |
| CGP | Charles Garth Papers: private correspondence in Haines Hill Archive. |
| "Charles Garth" | L. B. Namier, "Charles Garth and His Connexions", <i>EHR</i> , Vol. LIV, (July 1939), pp. 443-470. |
| "Charles Garth; Agent" | "Charles Garth, Agent for South Carolina", <i>Ibid</i> , (October 1939), pp. 632-652. |
| CSC | M.E. Sirmans, <i>Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763</i> , (Chapel Hill: 1966, University of North Carolina Press). |
| CSCHS | Langdon Cheves, ed., "The Shaftesbury Papers and other records relating to Carolina and the first settlement on Ashley River prior to the year 1676", <i>Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society</i> , Charleston Vol. V, (1897). |
| CSPC | <i>Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies</i> . |
| CSPD | <i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i> . |

- DAB** *Dictionary of American Biography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).
- DNB** *The Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 1917, reprinted 1921-22).
- Early Carolina** A. S. Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina 1650-1708*, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1911, reprinted 1959).
- English America** J. M. Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy of Charles II*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).
- English Atlantic** Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Explanation of Communication and Community*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- "Expansion"** Alfred D. Chandler, "The Expansion of Barbados", *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, Vol. XIII, (May and November, 1946), pp. 106-134.
- GLB** *Charles Garth Letter Books*, 2 Vols., I, (1762-1767,) II, (1767-1774), Haines Hill Archive (Typescript copies of letters from Charles Garth, c. 1910).
- HHA** Haines Hill Archive, Haines Hill, Twyford, Reading, RG10 0NA, England.
- HP:HC** B. D. Henning, et al, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons*.
1660-90, 3 Vols., I-III (London: Secker and Warburg, 1983)
1715-54, 2 Vols., I-II (London: HMSO, 1970)
1745-90, 3 Vols., I-III (London: HMSO, 1964)
- JBMHS** *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*.
- "Kinloch Letters"** Felix Gilbert, ed., "Letters of Francis Kinloch to Thomas Boone", *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. VIII (1942), pp. 87-105.
- Laurens' Papers** G.C. Rogers and D. R. Chesnutt, eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 9 Vols., (Columbia, S. C. : University of South Carolina Press, 1976), V, IX.
- RB** Records of Barbados: Re-copies of Deeds (RB3) and Wills (RB6) in the Barbados Department of Archives, Black Rock, St. Michael, Barbados.
- SCHGM** *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Charleston.
- SCHS** South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

- SHR** *Southern Historical Review.*
- SP** The Shaftesbury Papers at the PRO, Chancery Lane, London, PRO 30/24/48, Parts I, II and III.
- "Stewart's Letters"** Letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop, 27 April, 23 June 1690 and 20 October 1693, (Notes by Mabel L. Webber), *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. XXXII (1931), pp. 1-33, 81-114, 170-4.
- Sugar and Slaves** Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1973).
- Visitations** J. L. Vivian, *The Visitations of the County of Devon*, 2 Vols., (Exeter, 1895), I.
- Westminster Abbey Register** J. L. Chester, ed., *Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers of Westminster Abbey*, Publications of the Harleian Society, Vol. X, (London, 1876).
- WGP** Precs of letters to Charles Garth from America, 1763-82, made by Captain W. C. Godsall of Haines Hill c. 1890.
- WMQ** *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 1944-

Table 1

Colletons, Garths and Boones

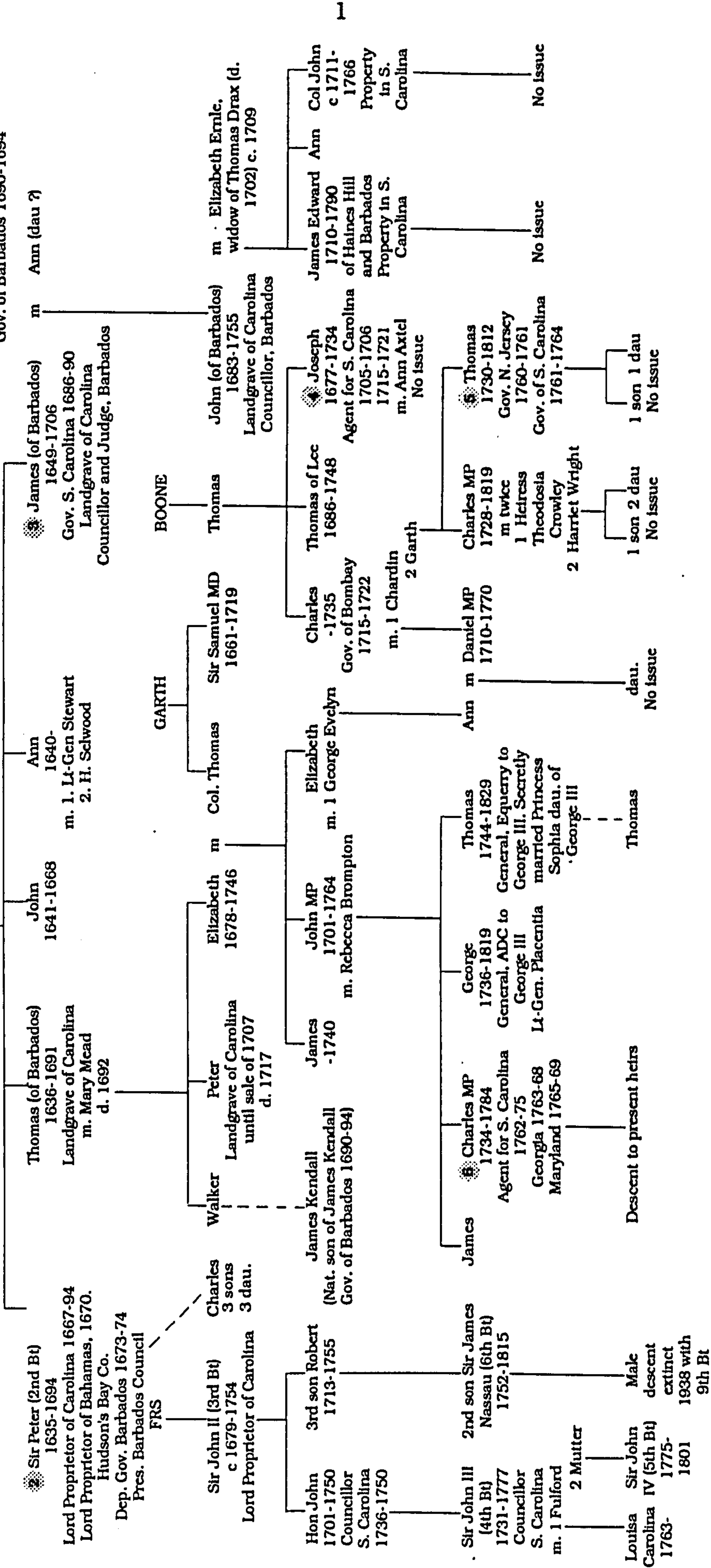
Sources: *Burke's*, (London 1936 or any previous year), see under Colleton, Vivian, *Visitations*, (Devon), Vol. I, p. 218., Will of Thomas Kendall, Royal Inst. of Cornwall, K/1/33, Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, (Oxford, 1887-1888), see under Kendall and Colleton, *HP:HC*, 1660-90, see under Colleton, Boone and Kendall, J. E. Buchanan, *Haines Hill*, (Published privately, compiled from HHA)

Abbreviated Tree. Numbers relate to Main Biographies

1 SIR JOHN COLLETON Bt
1608-1667

Founding Lord Proprietor of Carolina
Councillor, Judge and Maj. Gen, Barbados

Jamed KENDALL
1647-1708
Gov. of Barbados 1690-1694



Introduction

The Colleton family has not been recognised as a dynastic entity in British colonial history of the 17th and 18th centuries. Elements of their individual roles have featured in political, economic and social histories. The combined contribution of the Colletons and their descendants to the history of Barbados and Carolina has remained neglected in the historiography of the First British Empire. This deficiency is striking in view of their close involvement with the evolution and demise of colonial rule in the New World, the significance of their associations and their influence on events. As E. E. Rich has argued, "the Colletons are to be grouped among the leading Restoration imperialists" yet a comprehensive study of their contribution as a whole remains unwritten.¹ Sir Lewis Namier touched briefly on the connection between Charles Garth, the last agent for South Carolina, and his founding Colleton ancestor. He also drew attention to the lack of a history of Garth and his antecedents.²

The purpose of this thesis is to highlight the role of this single family in the history of British involvement in the Caribbean and the American mainland. It also corrects a number of identified inaccuracies, some of recent creation, which affect an analysis of their role. Their involvement spans ten generations in Barbados and at least six in South Carolina. (See Table 1 opposite) The exposition covers the period of their contribution, from 1646 to 1775. The principal biographies are of:

- 1 *Sir John Colleton I (1608-1667)*
Initiator of the Carolina Charter and Lord Proprietor of Carolina.
- 2 *Sir Peter Colleton (1635-1694)*
Colleague of Lord Shaftesbury; Lord Proprietor of Carolina and the Bahamas.
(Son of Sir John)

¹E.E. Rich ed., *Minutes of the Hudsons Bay Company 1671-75*, 2 Vols, (Toronto: Publications of the Champlain Society, 1942), I, p.xxi.

²"Charles Garth", p. 443; "Charles Garth, Agent", p. 652n. (See Abbreviations, p. xi)

- 3 *James Colleton (1649-1706)*
Governor of South Carolina (1686-1690)
(Son of Sir John)
- 4 *Joseph Boone (1677-1734)*
Second Agent for South Carolina (1705-1720, with intervals)
(Uncle of Thomas Boone)
- 5 *Thomas Boone (1710-1812)*
Governor of South Carolina (1761-1764)
(Great-great-grandson of Sir John I)
- 6 *Charles Garth (1734-1784)*
Last Agent for South Carolina (1762-1775)
(Great-great-grandson of Sir John I and first cousin of Thomas Boone)

The key biographies, with the exception of Joseph Boone's, are of direct descendants of Sir John Colleton (1608-1667). Sir John is attributed with the initiative in securing the Carolina Charter. He was an Exeter merchant adventurer and a Royalist officer during the Civil War. He emigrated to Barbados in 1650/1 and played a leading role as a politician, planter and soldier. After the Restoration in 1660 he returned to England where he and his colleagues lobbied influential friends in order to secure the grant of a royal charter for the settlement of Carolina. He became a member of the Committee for Foreign Plantations, one of the representative Committee of Gentlemen Planters of Barbados in London, a Lord Proprietor of the Carolinas, and a member of the Royal Company of Adventurers in Africa.

The first exploratory Barbadian foothold in Carolina was gained in 1664 while Sir John's eldest son Peter (1635-1694) was resident in Barbados. He shared the leadership of the Barbados Adventurers and the agency of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina with Thomas Modyford. He was then 29 and his brother Thomas 28. He returned home to assume his father's Lord Proprietorship in late 1667 and became High Steward of the Proprietary in 1669. The first successful settlement on Ashley River, Carolina, was made in 1670. The expedition was mounted in London with the impetus provided by Lord Ashley but dependent on the practical organisation of Sir Peter and the facilities he and his brother had established in Barbados for staging and re-supply. He became well acquainted with Lord Ashley and his development of an ill-fated constitutional plan for Carolina, drafted by his assistant and secretary to

the Proprietary, John Locke. Sir Peter became the owner of extensive Carolina properties. He was Deputy Governor and President of the Council of Barbados, a member of the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company, a founder member of the Hudson's Bay Company, a Lord Proprietor of both Carolina and the Bahamas and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Sir Peter's youngest brother, James Colleton (1645-1706), left Barbados to become governor of South Carolina and to develop his property in the province. His lack of experience and inept handling of affairs coincided with growing resentment and antipathy towards remote proprietary rule and accelerated its inevitable collapse. His personal style and behaviour before, during and after his term of office, gives some indication of his character and the basis of his unpopularity as Governor. He was made the target of rising anti-proprietary feeling and the case against him was partly contrived.

The first and second Agents to serve South Carolina were John Ash and Joseph Boone (1686-1748). From the early seventeenth century the Assemblies of the American colonies appointed Agents who lived, temporarily or permanently, in England. They were either Americans or Englishmen. They were commissioned to represent colony interests to the Crown, Parliament or ministers. Boone's first appointment was to represent the interests of the South Carolina Dissenters. He was agent for three periods, 1705-06, 1715-20 and 1720-21. He married the granddaughter of Colonel Daniel Axtell, the gaoler of Charles I at his trial by Parliament. He was brother to Charles Boone, Governor of Bombay (1715-1722), who married Sir John Colleton's great-granddaughter, Elizabeth Evelyn (nee Garth) in 1727. Her first husband was a cousin of John Evelyn, the diarist. Joseph Boone was finally responsible for the successful lobbying which led to the appointment of the first Royal Governor, Francis Nicholson, in 1721, and the end of proprietary rule. He had strategic vision and fully represented the need for defence against French incursion from the south which could protect the American colonies from continental encirclement.

Thomas Boone (1730-1812), nephew of Joseph, was appointed governor of New Jersey in 1759, at the age of 29, and of South Carolina in

1761, thirteen years after his uncle's death. He was one of the last Governors during the period of Royal Rule, prior to the War of Independence, and his handling of the Gadsden election affair fuelled antagonisms which accelerated Carolina's involvement in the preliminaries to the War of Independence. He was a great-great-grandson of the founding proprietor Sir John Colleton, by descent from his son Thomas. He was also a first cousin of South Carolina's last Agent, Charles Garth, for whom his brother had secured the appointment in 1762. Thomas lost his governorship after a period of acrimony and conflict with the South Carolina Assembly. Pre-empting his recall by a few weeks, he eloped home with the wife of Samuel Perroneau and sister of the Loyalist, Josiah Tattnall. She was the granddaughter of John Barnwell, Joseph Boone's colleague, who had helped him present in London the case for the defence of Carolina against Indian attack. Governor Boone was guardian to Francis Kinloch, the American patriot. His letters to Boone during the War of Independence kept him in touch with American affairs and illustrated attitudes towards political and military activity in South Carolina. Boone's considerable estates in Carolina of Pon Pon and Mepshoo were confiscated almost exactly 100 years after his own ancestors had secured them. He inherited Mepshoo from Margaret Colleton, the widow of Governor James Colleton's grandson John Colleton, a large portion of which was bought after Independence by his ward Francis Kinloch. Thomas Boone secured £22,000 in compensation from the British Government, the highest figure for forfeited property of any plantation owner in America.

Charles Garth (1734-1784), first cousin of Thomas Boone and also direct descendant of Sir John Colleton, was the son of John Garth, MP and Recorder of Devizes, whom he succeeded in both positions. He was a great-nephew of the celebrated Sir Samuel Garth, member of the Kit Cat Club, Physician to George I, and a friend of Dryden and Pope. He was a brother of General George Garth, ADC to George III, Lt-Governor of Placentia, Newfoundland, and General Thomas Garth, Equerry to George III. One of his daughters, Frances, was sub-governess to Charlotte, Princess of Wales. Charles Garth enjoyed the support of numerous Whig relations in the House of Commons. These included Daniel Boone, step first cousin, Charles Boone, first cousin, and James Edward Colleton of

Haines Hill, second cousin and the son-in-law of a former Lord Chancellor, Earl Cowper. James Edward Colleton had a nephew in the House, Thomas Erle Drax, and five other relations by marriage were Members of Parliament, including his half-brother Henry Drax. Together they formed an influential lobby at a time of volatility in Westminster.

Charles Garth was acknowledged to be an able and zealous Agent, especially effective in the Carolina interest. He earned the frequent approbation of the South Carolina Committee of Correspondence. He served South Carolina as her last Agent from 1762 to 1775, the last two years without salary as a protest by the Assembly against the limitation of their right to approve money bills. Henry Laurens, later a leader of the Revolutionary movement in South Carolina, offered the impecunious Garth recompense out of his own pocket for meeting the expenses of representation. His agency career was cut short by the outbreak of war. He died young leaving his widow in penury. James Edward Colleton, of Haines Hill, grandson of Governor James Colleton, left his estates in England and Barbados to Charles Garth's eldest surviving son.

The Colletons were the only family of an original Proprietor whose representatives established residence in Carolina and became Carolina citizens. Their impact on the early history of Barbados, and especially South Carolina, was significant. Perhaps more than coincidentally, the lives of its members most closely related to South Carolina influenced crucial stages in its history as this thesis will demonstrate. It will be shown that there are strong similarities between the early histories of Barbados and South Carolina. Like other American colonies they sought independence from proprietary and royal rule, equality with citizens of the mother country, freedom of trade, the sole right of their Assembly to raise taxation and to determine its allocation. Barbados and South Carolina offered resistance to authority from the earliest days of their establishment and issued similar declarations of defiance. The special significance for Carolina was that most of the early explorations and settlements drew a high proportion of both citizens and material support

from Barbados. The stories of both communities have close parallels. Alfred Chandler has emphasised that "an understanding of Barbados in the 1660's is essential to the proper study of early Carolina history."³ Barbados continued to be the main supply base, market, first port of call and information centre for more than thirty years after the founding of old Charles Town on the Ashley River. Its influence on Carolina was deep rooted and lasting.

³"Expansion", p. 108.

PART 1

The Post Civil War Settlement in Barbados and Carolina (1646-1670)

- Chapter 1 Background of John Colleton I
- Chapter 2 Post-Civil War Settlement in Barbados
- Chapter 3 The Carolina Charter
- Chapter 4 The Failure of Reconnaissance and the First
Permanent Settlement In South Carolina

CHAPTER 1

Background of John Colleton I

John Colleton's military, administrative and commercial experience fitted him for transition from provincial merchant to colonial merchant adventurer, planter, politician, military commander of land forces and judge, positions which he would enjoy in Barbados. These qualifications, added to his Civil War loyalty to the crown, would later justify a more central role as a colonial adviser, entrepreneur and Lord Proprietor. He had an inherited expertise in the wool trade which had developed into merchant trading in foreign markets. The goods were stored in his warehouses in Exeter and despatched over his quay on the River Exe.¹ Due to its south west position Exeter had fortuitous access to the 10,000 mile Atlantic circuit of favourable winds which gave their merchants an edge over their London and Channel port competitors.² Colleton was a committed royalist. His Civil War experiences as a cavalry officer added to merchanting and the ownership of shipping gave him new prospects. The experience of local government gained by generations of his family on the City Corporation were to motivate his son's proposals for the administration of a Barbadian settlement in Carolina.³

John Colleton was born in 1608, the product of the mercantile establishment of Exeter. His family arrived in Devonshire from Normandy shortly after the Conquest. They had been freemen and merchants of the city and property owners in the county since the Middle Ages.⁴ Colleton was the progenitor of a seven generation association with South Carolina from his proprietorship in 1663 until the death of Samuel Colleton Graves

¹ W.G. Hoskins: *Two Thousand Years in Exeter*, (Chichester, 1974), pp. 62-3.

² *English Atlantic*, p. 23. This work has an especially informative introduction.

³ See Chapter 3.

⁴ Rents from Normandy were still being collected by the Colletons in the 13C. Some property there was sold there by a great uncle of John Colleton. See Table 1, *Burke's P.*, A. Jenkins, *History of the City of Exeter*, (Exeter 1806), pp. 48, 49, 137; "Charles Garth", p.452; M. Rowe, *Exeter Freemen 1266-1967* (Exeter, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1973) pp. 60, 65, 107, 116, 130.; *Visitations*, pp. 218, 219.

in 1823 and a continuing one with Barbados from 1647. His realisation of the potential of the Carolinas dates from the 1650's.

The interests of the Exeter merchants were promoted and controlled by their own Guild "The Society of Merchant Adventurers Trading beyond the Seas".⁵ It had attained some prominence at the end of the sixteenth century when John Colleton's grandfather Henry Hull, later Mayor of Exeter, was its Governor. Mastery of the technique of producing cloth from the raw material had encouraged centralisation of manufacture. Labour moved from the country to the towns and from land to seafaring. West Country ports were familiar with transatlantic passage in search of cod which Sir Walter Raleigh described in 1593 as "the stay of the West Country".⁶ A channel dug in Exeter in 1563 had given it shallow access to the sea and later work improved it.⁷

Henry Hull's society encouraged merchants in Exeter to extend their export trade, previously concentrated in Western Europe. Exports to the New World continued the tradition of locally produced woollen goods, mainly cloth.⁸ The will of John Colleton's father demonstrates the strong family connection with the industry.⁹ The Colleton's horizons expanded with their ability to carry goods world wide in their own ships.¹⁰ The opportunities encouraged other energetic and ambitious merchant

⁵W. Cotton, *An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter*, (Exeter, Pollard, 1873), Preface, pp. vi, vii.

⁶Joyce Youngs, "Did Raleigh's England need Colonies?", in Joyce Youngs, ed., *Raleigh in Exeter 1585: Privateering and Colonisation in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, (University of Exeter, 1985), pp. 39-49.

⁷Hogenberg, *Map of Exeter 1587*, West Country Studies Library, Devon Library, Services, Exeter, Hoskins, *Two Thousand Years in Exeter*, p.63.

⁸C. P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), pp. 86-8.

⁹He left a loan to five poor weavers of Zeal Monachorum, near Exeter and a gift to twenty poor weavers of the city. Devon Record Office, Exeter. OM Coll, 8/36, 1 July 1622.

¹⁰Ships departing from South West ports, for the Caribbean could gain a two week advantage on those leaving the Channel ports. With an open sea-route to the South they could use the Westerlies on the first leg to Madeira. See *English Atlantic*, p.23.

adventurers keen to penetrate profitable new markets. Colleagues of John Colleton were the Amys, Kendalls and Modyfords. They were also to make the journey to the West Indies, like so many West Countrymen. Several of these well-off emigrants to Barbados from Commonwealth Devon were removed only one generation from positions of authority on the Corporation of the City of Exeter and like Thomas Modyford and John Colleton's son Peter, were to draw on their experience.¹¹ Six out of the first eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina were to come from the West Country, two from Devonshire and of these one was Colleton's Civil War commander, John Berkeley.¹²

A natural inclination for Colleton was to look towards the most profitable British colony, where trade was developing, for an alternative home if difficult circumstances were to arise in England. Exeter had established a foothold in the Netherlands with the advent of the new English manufactured "perpetuana" serges.¹³ Familiarity with Netherlands traders, the willingness of the Dutch to invest in Barbados sugar, the availability of their production expertise gained in South America and their monopoly of Caribbean merchant shipping had created an opportunity which John Colleton could not ignore. Political difficulties with the Exeter Council in 1646, an agricultural recession in the West Country, which had lasted since the end of the sixteenth century, and handsome profits on Barbadian sugar would provide the motives for Colleton to emigrate.¹⁴

¹¹John Modyford, Mayor of Exeter in 1622, was father of Sir Thomas, Governor of Barbados in 1660 and Jamaica from 1664 to 1670. He was grandfather of James Kendall, Governor of Barbados from 1690 to 1694. *Visitations*, J. L. Vivian, *Visitations of the County of Cornwall* (Exeter, 1887), Colleton, Kendall and Modyford entries; M. Rowe, *Exeter Freeman 1266-1967*, pp. 60,65,107,116,130; A. Jenkins, *History of Exeter*, pp. 136,137.

¹²The Duke of Albemarle was a Devonian.

¹³A tightly woven, hard wearing cloth of great durability. Hoskins, *Two Thousand Years in Exeter*, p.76.

¹⁴Youngs, "Did Raleigh's England need Colonies?", pp. 48-49.

Table 2

Sources: *Visitations* pp. 218-219 with corrections from Burke's 1856. Additions from Jenkins, *History of the City of Exeter*, (Exeter 1806), pp. 49, 137, and M. Rowe, *Exeter Freemen 1266-1967*, (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Exeter, 1973), pp. 60, 65, 107, 116, 130.

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graph TD
    RCP[Robert Coleton m  
born c 1447] --- H[Henry  
Freeman by  
succession 1510]
    RCP --- R[Ridgwaye alias Peacock]
    H --- T3[Thomas m  
(3rd son)]
    H --- P2[Peter  
(2nd son)]
    H --- G[Grace m  
(2nd son)]
    T3 --- S[Roger m  
(3rd son)  
(w/issue)]
    T3 --- P1[Peter (2nd son)  
b Monkenzeale.  
Freeman. Bailiff of  
Exeter 1605 and  
1617. Mayor 1618.  
Receiver of Exeter.  
Buried 8 Aug 1622  
St Olaves, Exeter.]
    T3 --- U[Ursula d of Henry Hull of  
Larkbeare, Governor of Society  
of Merchant Adventurers of  
Exeter 1593. Mayor of Exeter  
1605. m 18 Dec 1578 at St  
Kerrians, Exeter.]
    P1 --- Sib[Sibell]
    P1 --- H4[Henry  
(4th son)  
1615 bap St  
Mary Arches.  
Exeter. dsp]
    P1 --- J2[John Colleton  
(2nd son)  
Born 1608  
1634 Receiver of Exeter  
1634 Freeman by succession  
1642-6 Royalist  
1646 Displaced from Corporation  
1650 Emigrated to Barbados  
1660 Returned to England  
1661 Baronet and Knight  
1663 Lord Proprietor of Carolina  
1667 Died]
    U --- M[Margaret  
(1st son) dsp  
Churchwarden  
of St Olaves,  
Exeter, 1636.]
    U --- A[Alice]
    U --- J1[John m  
(1st son) dsp  
of S Tawton, Devon.]
    U --- MW[Margaret Weekes]
    A --- T3D[Thomas  
(3rd son)  
b 10 Jan 1615  
St Mary  
Arches.  
Exeter. dsp]
    A --- P[Peter  
(hetr)  
b 1605  
dsp]
    A --- E[Elizabeth m  
b 1601  
m Sir Hugh Crocker  
7 Jul 1621.  
Exeter.]
    T3D --- T3D1[Thomas  
(3rd son)  
b 10 Jan 1615  
St Mary  
Arches.  
Exeter. dsp]
    T3D --- P1[Peter  
(hetr)  
b 1605  
dsp]
    T3D --- E1[Elizabeth m  
b 1601  
m Sir Hugh Crocker  
7 Jul 1621.  
Exeter.]
  
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Henry
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1615 bap St
Mary Arches.
Exeter. dsp

John Colleton
(2nd son)
Born 1608
1634 Receiver of Exeter
1634 Freeman by succession
1642-6 Royalist
1646 Displaced from Corporation
1650 Emigrated to Barbados
1660 Returned to England
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1663 Lord Proprietor of Carolina
1667 Died

Margaret
(1st son) dsp
Churchwarden
of St Olaves,
Exeter, 1636.

Alice

John m
(1st son) dsp
of S Tawton, Devon.

Margaret Weekes

Thomas
(3rd son)
b 10 Jan 1615
St Mary
Arches.
Exeter. dsp

Peter
(hetr)
b 1605
dsp

Elizabeth m
b 1601
m Sir Hugh Crocker
7 Jul 1621.
Exeter.

John Colleton was fourteen years old at his father's death in 1622 and gained early self-dependence.¹⁵ Within twenty years he had inherited considerable property in Exeter and by 1637 he owned "The Friars" estate and other houses.¹⁶ In 1634 he married Katherine, daughter of William Amy whose family were prominent in the public affairs of the city.¹⁷ In 1634 Colleton became a freeman of Exeter by succession and its Receiver. Over the next few years six of his seven children were born, Peter (1635), Thomas (1636), Katherine (1638), Anne (1640), John (1641), and Elizabeth (1644). James, the youngest, was born after an interval of five years when the Civil War had ended.¹⁸ At the start of hostilities Colleton was aged 34 and active in the Exeter community. On 9 August 1642 he and three other citizens were asked to meet the Earl of Bath to determine whether the city could be secured for the King. Following these discussions Exeter was invested in June 1643 by royalist forces under Sir John Berkeley, of Bruton in Somerset. He became Governor when the city's parliamentary commissioners surrendered the city after eleven weeks of siege.¹⁹ Exeter became the royalist headquarters in the west. Colleton was one of the councillors required to list the sums of money advanced by citizens for the public service and, as one of many financial gifts he collected, £100 was presented to the Governor "in the security of the city" as a testimony of its gratitude to him.²⁰ He gave large sums of money in support of the royalist cause. His generosity discloses his personal resources. He was energetic in mustering military assistance.

¹⁵*Visitations*, p. 218.

¹⁶Colleton's mother's home, Larkbeare, was 1/4 mile outside the East Gate and part is still standing. Friar's was sold by the Colletons in 1829 for development. See Hogenburg, *Map of Exeter* 1587 and Cotton, *An Elizabethan Guild*, for good illustrations of contemporary buildings and W. R. Crabbe, *Scrapbook*, West Country Studies Library, Devon Library Service for unpaginated extracts from *Western Morning News* of 6 September 1938.

¹⁷Another member, Thomas Amy, became a Trustee Lord Proprietor of Carolina on behalf of four other Proprietors for the previous interest of Sir William Berkeley. Jenkins, *History of Exeter*, p. 136.

¹⁸Katherine died young and Elizabeth at age two. *Visitations*, p. 218, with corrections and additions from J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, (London: Parker, 1887-1888), p.305.

¹⁹W. Cotton, *Exeter during the Great Rebellion*, Part I, (Exeter, n.d., c.1875), p.12.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p.34.

especially on behalf of Berkeley. As a Captain of Foot he received from him a Colonel's commission to raise a regiment at the considerable personal cost of £4,000.²¹ He achieved his commission in fourteen days which gives an indication of his connections, competence and administrative skill. His assistance to Berkeley was remembered. It helped their later association on the Council for Foreign Plantations and to secure the grant of the Carolina Charter through intercession with the Crown.

The city remained in royalist hands until it fell to Fairfax in April 1646 after a six months' siege of deprivation and the plague.²² Royalist supporters were heavily penalised. Colleton was displaced as Receiver by the parliamentary faction and dismissed from the corporation for his "uncompromising loyalty to Charles I".²³ The reason given was his absence from the city "during divers months past". Writing on 4 December 1662 to John Martin, Mayor of Exeter, he recalled this period sixteen years earlier.²⁴ "I was for my loyalty thrust out of the Chamber and Mr Gould substituted". He had not been repaid "either principal nor (sic) interest of the monies he had advanced", adding that he wished the mayor "to look without Southgate and consider what I there suffered by members of your corporation, whose actions I believe the present chamber abhor". He concluded "I am content to refer the matter to any indifferent person, and if it be denyed me, I shall be constrayned to seek justice elsewhere, being resolved to get my due, but rather amicably than any other way".²⁵ The parliamentarians fined Colleton £610 on 5 August 1646 "for his delinquency in bearing arms against parliament". His appeal for

²¹Several sources give Colleton's expenditure as £40,000 which is hardly credible in the light of an assessment in 1646 of his annual income as £200. See CSPD, 1660-1, No. 44, p.322, "CFSC", p.327.

²²Cotton, *Great Rebellion*, p.32.

²³Crabbe, *Scrapbook*, unpaginated cutting from George Oliver, "Biography of Exonians; No. 10", in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 25 January 1849.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵After the Restoration the Corporation paid Colleton £122.8.7 on 22 July 1662 and voted him a piece of plate, value £10, on 6 September 1664. A general release of all claims was exchanged on 25 October 1664. *Exeter Corporation Act Book No. 7*, pp. 154-56 and Crabbe, *Scrapbook*, unpaginated.

moderation was heard and rejected.²⁶ The hostile environment in Exeter was undoubtedly a motivating factor in his decision to transfer his commercial base overseas.

²⁶*Calendar for the Committee of Compounding (Domestic)*, 1643-1660, Part I, 1698, Chapter 87, p.119, and Part II, p. 1356, 24 June, 30 June and 5 August 1646, 3 June 1652. The sequestration order was removed in England on 23 March 1652 as part of a Parliamentary settlement of 11 January 1652 with royalists in Barbados. He is shown as having been sequestered, compounded but finally discharged in June 1652. See also B M Add. MSS, 11411, f.95.

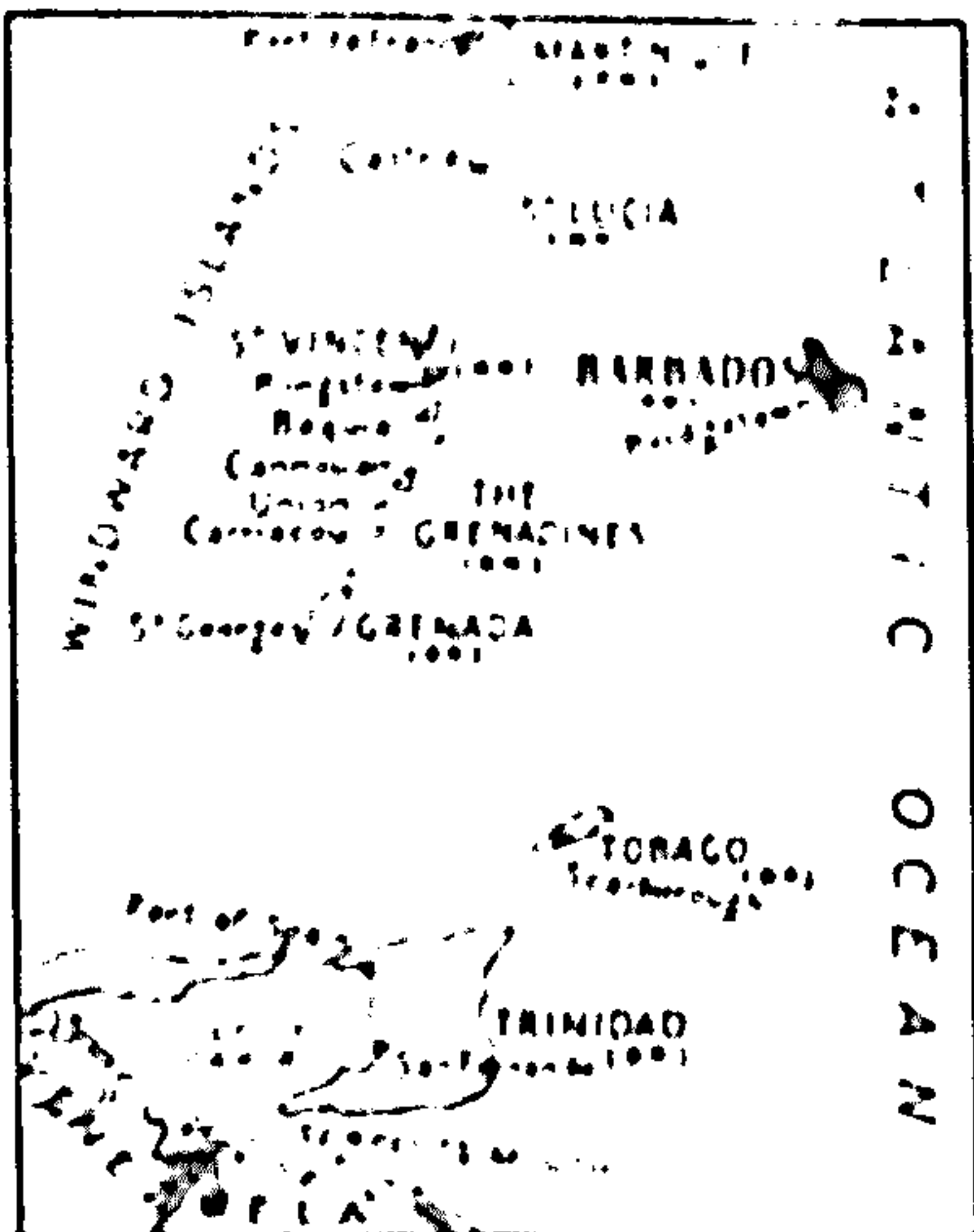
CHAPTER 2

Post Civil War Settlement in Barbados

John Colleton was to have a ten year association with Barbados. It started with his arrival in late 1650 or early 1651 in an island of economic opportunity, political turmoil and unstable royalist government. The reimposition of Parliamentary rule was achieved by the Ayscue expedition in 1652 with the decisive help of Thomas Modyford and Colleton. Their offices and appointments were confirmed and added to by General Venables during his use of Barbados as a base for Cromwell's unsuccessful military expedition to capture Hispaniola in 1655. Political intrigue marked the next five years until Restoration and the establishment of Colleton in positions of royal favour in England. He left his sons on the island to manage his plantation interests, to provide leadership for the Barbados Adventurers and to establish base facilities for the exploration of the Carolina coast line. His family were to own property in Barbados for hundreds of years, in Carolina until after the War of Independence and to achieve high office in Barbados and the American colonies.¹

During the commonwealth period the decline of the wool trade accelerated and led to gangs of unemployed farm workers roaming the West Country. The implications for merchants were severe. Colleton depended upon the agricultural markets of the south-west of England for most of his purchases and quickly felt the effects. He had strong motives for developing communications with Barbados where the newly-planted sugar estates had begun to show remarkable returns on investment. His disaffection with the present authorities in Exeter, the demise of the royalist cause, the opportunity for refuge and merchanting in Barbados, successfully exploited by fellow royalists and West Country neighbours, gave Colleton the incentive to invest in the prospering colony. He made his first land purchase there "unseen" in 1647 about a year after his

¹For continuous ownership of property in Barbados the Colleton family is probably second only to the Draxs.



"Barbados 5".
Published by Directorate of Colonial Surveys DCS 955.
Printed by GSGS 1956.

expulsion by the Exeter Corporation, possibly on the advice of his friend Chiswick merchant Thomas Kendall, lately of Exeter, who had already made partnership deals with other colleagues.² Kendall was to become a trustee for Colleton's two Barbadian plantations. Colleton must have moved to the capital about the time of his disaffection with Exeter, being described in the 1647 Barbados title deed as a "merchant of London".³

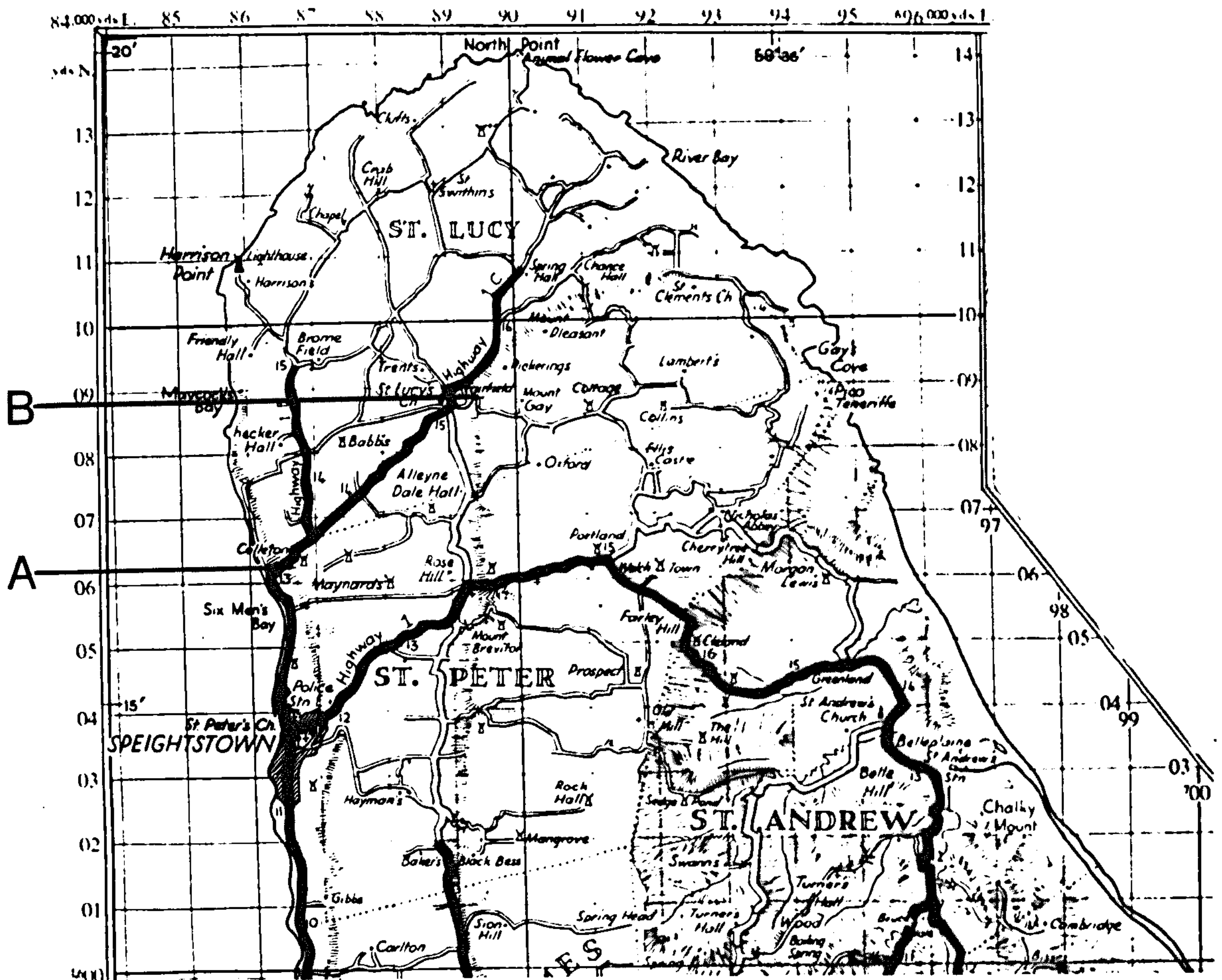
The island of Barbados is twenty miles from North to South, fourteen East to West and consists of 166 square miles, or 106,000 acres.⁴ It is occasionally afflicted by severe hurricanes and in the seventeenth century also suffered periodic drought, pest and plant disease. Although free of malaria, it had attacks of yellow fever with an especially severe outbreak in 1647. It enjoyed the reputation of being the "Garden of the Caribbean". Governor James Kendall, the son of Thomas Kendall, London merchant and Barbados plantation owner, said of the island in a letter to Lord Shaftesbury of 22 August 1690: "Itt is the beautyfull'st spott of ground I ever saw."⁵ It was remote from Spanish possessions and lay south of the route to the Main. As the prevailing wind is strong from the North East the island once possessed a defence against ships approaching from the leeward. There were no conventional harbours on the exposed windward side and plantations were developed later than on the western coastline. The island was the first port of call for slave ships from Africa and therefore enjoyed the profits of transit trade. The development of the sugar industry in the 1640s followed a sharp decline in world tobacco prices due to over-supply. Dutch sugar merchants arrived in 1637 following their expulsion from Brazil. Barbados planters were growing tobacco of an inferior quality and some cotton. The Dutch provided them

²Kendall part financed other plantations but had sugar estates of his own.

³RB3 2.116. See Appendix A.

⁴Map on page 17. Seven-eighths of cultivated land is still in cane production.

⁵PRO, CO 28/1/81.

BARBADOS (North)

- A The Ridges, St Peter, bought 16 March 1647. c. 90 acres.
- B St Peter and St Lucy Planatation (mainly St Lucy) accumulated from May 1651 to 1660 (a quarter made over to Rolleston) c. 220 acres.

Source

Section from "Road Map of Barbados". Compiled from Admiralty Charts 502 and 2485 with additional corrections to 1 January 1936 by M J Anderson, MA. Published by the War Office 1943.

with sugar canes, negro slaves, coppers, stills, carriage and a market for the finished product which had a scarcity value in Europe.⁶

Colleton's initial investment in Barbados was made by post seven months after his sequestration order had been confirmed and four years before his emigration. The deed refers to the sale by

Gregory Rowe of Cornwall, mariner, for £10 sterling and twenty four thousand weight of tobacco in roll, a 90-acre plantation in St Peter by the name of (The Ridges?) late in the tenure of (?) and Richard Robotham, bounded by Six Men's plantation on the windward and the plantation of William Craven and Henry Turner on the leeward.⁷

The plantation house is described as having one hall, two parlours and one kitchen, one milk house, one buttery, two chambers, and one outhouse for servants containing one chamber and two ground rooms.⁸ This land was separated from later purchases near St Lucy's church; together they formed the leeward of the two future Colleton plantations.⁹

After his first purchase Colleton would have been further encouraged by correspondence from his friend Thomas Modyford, son of a Mayor of Exeter and destined to become Governor of Jamaica. Modyford had arrived in Barbados in 1647 with Richard Ligon who documented in great detail his few years in the island. He may also have been influenced by the West countryman Samuel Rolleston with whom Colleton entered into partnership for the management of his Leeward estate.¹⁰ Furthermore, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper from Dorset, the future Lord Shaftesbury and co-proprietor of Carolina, had bought a modest plantation in St George's

⁶R. B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery; An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Eagle Hall: Caribbean University Press, 1974), p.132.

⁷RB 3/2.116, 16 March 1646/7, entered 17 July 1647. (Deed illegible in parts.)

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹See Map p.19.

¹⁰Examination of a number of Barbados wills and land records indicates that partnership in plantation properties was common practice. Even the richest planters shared ownership e.g. Colleton, Drax, Modyford and Hothersall. RB3, 6.

Parish a few months earlier.¹¹ Modyford had begun to enjoy the exceptional profits from the new sugar and slave plantations pioneered by James Drax and his contemporaries with instruction and assistance from the Dutch.¹² Modyford bought a 500-acre plantation in partnership with his brother-in-law Thomas Kendal for £7000. As a measure of inflated property values the whole 500 acres had cost the previous owner £400 only seven years earlier.¹³ Modyford declared that he expected to make £100,000 on his investment.¹⁴ Ligon calculated the annual gross revenue as £4,500 per annum, but this may have been exaggerated. However, by 1645 Drax was taking three times the profit from land previously growing tobacco and other crops.¹⁵

John Colleton could have left England for Barbados as early as August 1650. He received a pass to visit Holland en route. The reasons for this diversion are obscure but Harlow described the employment of Dutch capital and other resources as having been responsible for the conversion of Barbados into one of the wealthiest English plantations in the New World. Colleton may have visited to arrange credit or trading terms for his future sugar output, to visit the exiled court, or merely to take passage to Barbados. Dutch vessels provided a normal means of carrying mail but Colleton had his own ship if he wished to use it. His 15 year old son and

¹¹Ashley's venture failed in 1655. K. H. D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968) p. 64, and P H Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina, from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974) p. 15n.

¹²Ligon said of James Drax, "he lives like a prince". The Draxes are an ancient Yorkshire family, not of Anglo-Dutch descent as claimed by Richard Dunn. John Drax was a tenant of the Prior of Durham in 1399. Drax Priory was founded in 12C. Commander Walter Drax R N, descendant of Sir James and present owner of Drax in Barbados has confirmed to me his pure Yorkshire origin. See M. J. Stanley Price, ed., *Yorkshire Deeds*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series Vol CXX (York, 1955). Vol X, Nos. 151, 260. 446; *Sugar and Slaves*, p. 62, Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, (London, 1657), pp. 34, 85.

¹³"Expansion", p. 109.

¹⁴The time in which he expected to make this profit is not disclosed. *Sugar and Slaves*, p. 81.

¹⁵R B Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 136.

heir Peter, with a companion, Nathaniel Lansdowne, received a pass at the same time to travel "beyond the seas".¹⁶

A considerable sum of money was necessary to purchase, equip and run a profitable sugar plantation. Later, when Colleton was being considered for membership of the Council for Foreign Plantations it was said in his favour that he had invested no less than £30,000 on planting in Barbados.¹⁷ The capital to provide an annual income of £200, the level at which he had been assessed for his delinquency fine in 1646, would have been hardly adequate to fund venture expenditure of that amount without previously undisclosed or new credit. The Dutch controlled the shipping, the market, the provision of slaves and were prepared to lend money to the wealthier royalists who had settled recently, whose credit was good and who consequently profited most.¹⁸ Colleton's London merchant colleagues, especially Thomas Kendall, were just as likely to have been the source of any additional funds he required. As a result of the Commonwealth legislation of 1650 and the Navigation Act of 1651 the London merchants would have provided the approved market for his produce. This legislation restricted exports to British vessels, cut off legal Dutch trade and later provoked military conflict with Holland.

During the Civil War the regular trade routes with England had been disturbed and Barbados was forced to look for other markets. Her enterprising merchants built up trade with New England, a three thousand mile off-shore return journey. The development of the Barbados economy in the 1640-1650 period was dynamic and substantially enhanced by the change from tobacco to sugar cultivation. Its attraction was not merely one of refuge. Colleton's arrival coincided with economic prosperity, tremendous political instability and a new Governor, Francis

¹⁶His pass was issued on 2 August 1650. CSPD, 1661-8, p. 553; *Barbados*, pp. 42, 43 and B M, *Sloane MSS*, 3662, f. 59a.

¹⁷Colleton was said to have lived much in France and Spain. This could have been before his marriage in 1634 or intermittently between 1645, when his absences were remarked upon by the Corporation, and mid-1650. CSPD, 1660-1, p.322, No.44.

¹⁸"Expansion", pp. 110, 111.

Lord Willoughby of Parham. Willoughby had a personal stake in the island. In 1628 The Earl of Pembroke had obtained from James I a grant of the Caribbee Islands which included Barbados although a clear title had already been given in 1627 to the Earl of Carlisle. This grant was again awarded to Carlisle in 1629 who conveyed his rights, in 1647 to Willoughby. He agreed to Willoughby becoming Chief Governor of the Caribbees for twenty one years and his governorship of Barbados had the approval of the future Charles II in exile.¹⁹ After the expiry of the twenty one years all titles and profits were to revert to the Crown and the Proprietary would terminate.

Almost as soon as Colleton had landed in Barbados the new Governor recognised him as a potential ally.²⁰ He asked Colleton to procure him a commission from the Commonwealth Council of State using his contact and influence with the London merchants.²¹ Although Colleton had the reputation of being "a man of considerable wealth and influence" his wealth may have been overstated.²² Nevertheless, the strength of his commercial links and his political potential were immediately recognised by Willoughby. Colleton had not wasted time spent in London. His City contacts were to be of great value to him later. His status as a merchant immediately positioned him in the top layer of the Barbadian hierarchy during a time of political intrigue while opposing Parliamentary and royalist factions tried to gain control. These activities were reaching a

¹⁹For a detailed history see Bryan Edwards, *Political and Commercial Survey of His Majesty's Dominions in the West Indies*, 2 Vols, (London, 1798), I, Book III, Chap I; *Barbados*, Chaps I, 2.

²⁰Harlow dates his arrival as 1651 and Willoughby's as May 1650. Arrivals were frequent with up to one hundred vessels per year calling from England. Colleton's second land purchase was made on 21 May 1651 and he handled the deal personally. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic*, p. 321n; *Barbados*, pp. 60-1 and RB 3/3. 879

21

"About this time Colonel John Colleton came to this island, to whom likewise His Lordship unfolded his thoughts, and desired him to write to the merchants of London to procure a commission from the State of England for him, and did assure both him, Colonel Modyford, and Colonel Burch of his constant resolutions to persevere in moderating and composing all things."

B M Add. MSS, Egerton MSS 2395, *A Briefe Relation of the Beginning and Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados, with the True Causes Thereof* by A. B., p. 6.

²²*Barbados*, p. 61.

peak and inviting attention from the home government. It was impossible for him to remain uncommitted. There were many possible political options and dangers in the situation.

As Colleton had decided to make at least a temporary home on the island he had one easy commercial decision to make. If his plantation was to become a viable business he had to increase the acreage to a size at which slave labour would bring the best returns. To be on a par with experienced colleagues this meant the creation of a holding of not less than 500 acres of good cane soil, even though unsettled conditions often diverted his attention to political and military matters.²³ The islanders, though mainly royalist in sympathy, were generally in favour of preserving peace and prosperity in an ordered manner rather than run the risk of precipitating a military reaction from Cromwell. Willoughby sought Thomas Modyford's temperate influence, perhaps partly because of his kinship with General Monck. In an act of provocation to Parliament the Walrond royalists proclaimed Charles as King. Modyford and the moderates had no wish to be subservient to royalist extremists. He raised 1,500 of the militia and marched to the relief of the Governor.

The revolt in Barbados was soon reported in London. Parliament reacted quickly and in August 1650 the customs seized the cargoes of ships destined for rebellious royalists. They had the support of the London merchants, who objected to Dutch trade with the American colonies. In February 1651 news reached Barbados that Sir George Ayscue was on his way with a parliamentary fleet. Willoughby resolved to make a

²³The available deeds show the build-up of Colleton property into the Leeward and Windward or Cliff Plantations. There are substantial gaps in the Records of Barbados up to 1720. They contain copied and re-copied deeds books which may have suffered from transcription errors. I am extremely grateful to P. F. Campbell of St. Michael's, Barbados, editor of the JBMHS, who has looked at over fifty Colleton deeds in the Barbados Archives for the period 1647 to 1729, most of them conveyances. He has extracted information which is included and referenced in Appendix A.

fight of it and on 18 February the Barbadian administration published a resounding declaration in defiance of parliament.²⁴

Ships from Holland arrived daily with arms in exchange for sugar. The London merchants foresaw a violent defence and unsuccessfully petitioned for envoys to be sent ahead of Ayscue to persuade compliance. However, Ayscue had been given a free hand to agree terms for submission. After a long delay his fleet reached Carlisle Bay, Bridgetown, Barbados, on 15 October 1651, not many months after Colleton's own arrival. Willoughby hurried to the threatened coast, deployed an army of 6,000 men and rejected Ayscue's demand for surrender. Ayscue had arrived with meagre resources but he managed to win over Colonel Modyford supported by a pragmatic Colleton.²⁵ Together they confronted Willoughby with a show of strength. If Colleton and Modyford had joined Willoughby, Ayscue would have had to retire. The two friends could see that the benefits of supporting Parliament outweighed the disadvantages of further sequestration in England and inevitably a stronger expedition to eliminate royalist support and property in Barbados. A contemporary writer gave an account of the circumstances; the political bias of the author was undoubtedly parliamentarian and the tone of the account makes it evident that while Willoughby's conduct was thought objectionable, Modyford's and Colleton's was considered correct:

And then began the Lord Willoughby to be odious to all moderate and good men, which being well-observed by Colonel Modyford, he thinking himself not further obliged to solicit so obstinate a man for his own good, or longer to

²⁴The declaration asked:

Shall we be bound to the Government Lordship of a Parliament in which we have no representatives, or persons chosen by us, for there to propound and consent to what might be needful to us, as also to oppose and dispute all what should tend to our disadvantage and harm?Soe we will not alienate ourselves from those old heroick virtues of true Englishmen, to prostitute our freedom and privileges, to which we are borne, to the will and opinion of anyone. BM E 644(4), Appendix X, *Kings Pamphlets*, (London, 1651).

²⁵Colleton was already a Colonel of Militia by this date, probably due to his long association with Modyford, his standing in Devonshire and his previous military experience in the Civil War. His land ownership in Barbados was sufficient qualification for high rank. CSPC, 1574-1650, p. 372, (9 January 1652).

continue under his command that he broke all faith and those promises for which only he first undertook to adhere to him; privately advising with Colonel Colleton, and calling Colonel Burch, then his Lieut-Colonel (Captain) Hooper, and other officers to him, they resolved to make the Lord Willoughby by force to perform, what by honest persuasions could not be obtained.²⁶

On 6 January 1652 Modyford assembled his regiment and obtained the soldiers' agreement to accept Ayscue's terms in preference to a royalist government dominated by the Walronds. Modyford and Ayscue mustered a combined total of 2,000 soldiers based on Modyford's house and were joined by parliamentary supporters. Willoughby could only muster 3,000 troops and submitted to Ayscue.

Each side appointed commissioners who met on 11 January to sign terms. Ayscue selected Colonels Modyford, Colleton, Searle and Captain Pack.²⁷ The constitutional privileges of Barbados were guaranteed. Ayscue had inadequate resource to do more than secure peace by valedictory gestures but in a remarkably generous settlement the royalists, including Colleton, were to receive back their forfeited lands in England and a pardon for all acts of hostility. Colleton was appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Willoughby was guaranteed his estates in the West Indies and the right to trade freely. The Governor of Barbados would in future be appointed by Parliament. Cromwell confirmed all aspects of the agreement except the right of free trade. This was denied to all colonies in the interests of England building up a strong merchant navy. Despite the commercial guarantees Willoughby had received, he was ordered on board ship for England as an enemy of the peace. Ayscue replaced him as Governor with one of his two parliamentary commissioners, Colonel David Searle, soon to become an opponent of Colleton. Ayscue's alliance with the moderates, Modyford and Colleton, both Devonian royalist commanders in the Civil War, had brought the island peace. They showed realism in accepting the benefits which short-term support of Cromwell would give. The terms achieved were as beneficial as they could have

²⁶AB, *A Briefe Relation*, p.6.

²⁷CSPC, 1574-1660, p. 456 (Feb 1657).

hoped. In the event of a Stuart restoration they would be able to justify their actions as being expedient and in the interests of the moderate majority. Considering the distance involved and the time taken by court procedure Colleton's sequestration order dating back to June 1646 was very speedily removed. It was cancelled in England on 23 March 1652 and a pardon granted on 3 June 1652²⁸ The dispensation had some influence on his future attitude towards the Commonwealth and inclined him more favourably towards co-operation. Clarendon described the benefits enjoyed by emigré royalists:

The Barbadoes, which was much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King; many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from further prosecutions.²⁹

The establishment of the Parliamentary regime in England gave the opportunity to challenge Dutch supremacy and in particular to halt the profits from Dutch development of Barbados as a great sugar plantation. The Navigation Act of 1651 restricting transportation of foreign goods to English vessels or those of the producing country resulted in war with Holland in July 1652. The Barbadians insisted on their right to continue free trade following the Ayscue agreement, and were supported in their disregard of the law by Governor Searle. The sugar trade had declined and English prices for imported goods were often twice as high as Dutch. Although preference was given to colonial tobacco and sugar, the Barbados Assembly sent frequent petitions for redress to Parliament. The threat to economic prosperity by the restriction of free trade led to a campaign for "a free state in working alliance with England". Modyford's faction, which included Colleton, sought direct representation in the English parliament

²⁸*Calendar of Committee for Compounding (Domestic)*, 1643-1660, Cases 1643-46, p. 1356.

²⁹Edward Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 8 Vols. (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1826) VI, p. 610.

by two members to be elected in Barbados.³⁰ Approval could have created a novel precedent of considerable significance in the larger controversy over representation in the 1760's between the mother country and her American colonies.

The planters had strong justification for claiming equality with the citizens of England, their hand strengthened by the continuing stream of emigration to the island. Recently established rich planters had cornered the best available land, but Clarendon noted

having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible to what fortunes they raised themselves in a few years, in that plantation,) they were more willing to live in subjection to that government at that distance, than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former transgressions; which, upon the articles of surrender, they were indemnified for.³¹

Colleton was typical of Clarendon's category, and the leaders among the newcomers of the 1650's belonged to the classification of "forceful, able and aggressive men" of influence and determination.³² They were to play a dominant role in future American colonisation as merchants and planters. By the Restoration this type of newcomer " had taken over the political, social and economic leadership of the island".³³ Also departing from England were large numbers of prisoners-of-war, and after 1655 other "poor whites", convicted felons, pirates and criminals were sold profitably to planters as indentured servants.³⁴ Main crop conversion to sugar caused increasing pressure on land, the massive importation of negro labour and hardship to uncompetitive small farmers and indentured servants who could not afford the cost of establishing sugar factories.³⁵ Recent analysis puts the total white population at thirty thousand, largely

³⁰Barbados, p.98.

³¹Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Vol VI, p. 610.

³²*Sugar and Slaves*, p.78.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, p. 132.

³⁵Edwards, *West Indies*, Vol I, p.327.

composed of yeomen farmers and artisans, including a high proportion of religious dissenters.³⁶ The Government, in payment of a gratuity, granted land to all applicants and the authority of the island's proprietor was "at length tacitly and silently relinquished".³⁷ By the mid-1650's the rapidly increasing negro population was at parity with whites.³⁸ It is hardly surprising that small farmers, time-served freemen and servants were anxious to re-emigrate under conditions of such pressure, if a promise of land could be realised with some certainty. In 1652 Thomas Modyford advised the home government, "in prudence a place must be thought upon where this great people shall find maintenance and employment".

Caribbean adventures did nothing to reduce the surplus white population. This remained at 30,000 throughout the 1650's, despite the emigration of 10,000 people during the twenty years to 1655. The accelerating inflow was balanced by the outflow or death from a variety of debilitating fevers and illnesses.³⁹

The climate did not deter the rich from transporting a familiar English way of life to Barbados. Planters were beginning to live a cultured existence with rich dress and food although there is no precise description of the houses and furnishings of the wealthier planters such as James Drax, Thomas Modyford, the Hothersalls and John Colleton.⁴⁰ There are contemporary reports of Drax's impressive new-Jacobean mansion and accounts of his life-style.⁴¹ Most planters had tables, chairs,

³⁶"Expansion", pp. 106-114, Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, pp. 132, 236.

³⁷Edwards, *West Indies*, p. 327.

³⁸"Expansion", p. 109-114, *Barbados*, pp. 338-9.

³⁹Gary A. Puckrein discusses in his doctoral thesis Richard Dunn's view, in *Sugar and Slaves*, that severe depopulation was caused by early deaths from disease. Dunn describes Barbados as "a demographic disaster area". Puckrein accepts that high mortality occurred from yellow fever and other epidemics but asserts that the death rate did not approach that of early Virginia or South Carolina. *Little England: Plantation Society and Anglo-Barbadian politics 1627-1700* (London and New York: NY University Press, 1984), p.183.

⁴⁰*Sugar and Slaves*, p.76.

⁴¹Richard Ligon described Colonel Drax's Sunday entertainment. He would send for a Muscovy duck to be placed in his largest pond and command his best swimming "negres" to swim and take it. Diving was forbidden to avoid the sport

benches, cushions, carpets, framed pictures, linen, pewter, looking glasses, clocks and books. In 1658 one had a railed balcony in his diningroom and a polished marble porch floor.⁴² It was perhaps no coincidence that stone houses were not built until the 1650's, the time of an influx of indentured artisans from England. The range of locally produced alcoholic beverages also gives an indication of social habits and the place that drinking held in the lives of planters. The men could enjoy a choice of spirit potions while the women were provided with a wide range of cordial based refreshments⁴³ However, the island society had its disadvantages. An illuminating account by Henry Whistler of the Venables expedition described the conditions on the island in 1655:

The gentry here doth live far better than ours do in England....And they have that liberty of conscience which we so long in England have fought for, but they do abuse it.... This island is the dunghill whereupon England doth cast forth its rubbish. Rogues and whores and such like people who are generally brought here.... A whore if handsome makes a wife for some rich planter..... The island of itself is very delightful and pleasant..... If the traveller does deny to stay to drink they take it very unkindly of him.⁴⁴

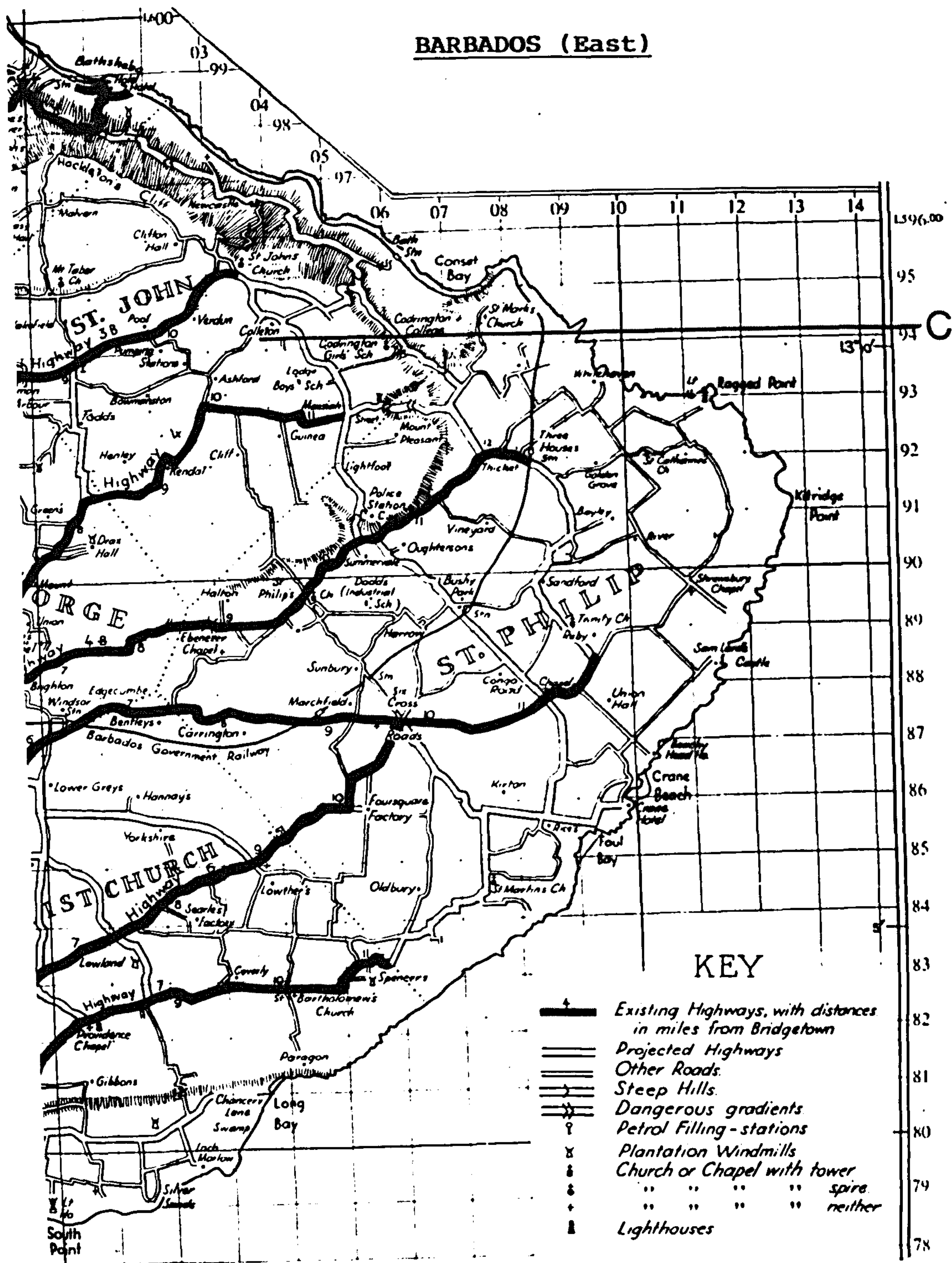
The English gentry were quick to endeavour to recreate in Barbados the standard of living they had enjoyed at home, and other plantation owners to copy them. Their increasing wealth enabled them to enlarge the size of their plantations.

having "too quick and an end....they are stronger ducks, and better divers by farre than ours". *A True and Exact History*, p.52.

⁴²Due to hurricanes, fire or dilapidations only a handful of seventeenth century houses have survived. Drax and St Nicholas Abbey, in modified form, are two. Neither could be taken as models for a colonial or Barbadian style.

⁴³These included Potato wine (Mobbie), Perino (Cassavy root), Grippo, Punch (water and sugar), Plum drinke, Plantine drinke, Beveridge (water, sugar and orange juice) and Wine of Pines. *Ibid*, pp.31-33.

⁴⁴This source has long been used and relied upon as a valuable insight into conditions on the island in the mid-seventeenth century. The modernisations of spelling used by Richard S. Dunn have been employed. C.H. Firth, ed., "Extracts from Henry Whistler's Journal of the west India Expedition", *The Narrative of General Venables, with an Appendix of Papers Relating to the Expedition to the West Indies and the conquest of Jamaica, 1654-1655*, (London, 1900), pp. 145-147.

BARBADOS (East)

C Colleton (Cliff or Windward) Plantation accumulated 1651/2 to 1662. c. 450 acres.

TOTAL of all holdings by 1662 (incl. Leeward Plantation) c. 760 acres.

Source

Section from "Road Map of Barbados". Compiled from Admiralty Charts 502 and 2485 with additional corrections to 1 January 1936 by M J Anderson, MA. Published by the War Office 1943.

The 1650's were a favourable time to buy land due to a temporary slump in value with the theoretical exclusion of Dutch trade and a drop in sugar prices as production increased. Colleton's policy of acquisition was initially directed towards St Peter/St Lucy near the rocky, dry, northern tip of the island, bordering the territory of small planters and freemen.⁴⁵ He soon switched to the area of his future investments at Windward or Cliff Plantation, halfway down the East coast, south of St John's Church, where his family were to live and manage their sugar interests; "where the breeze is constant, the rainfall abundant, and the red soil produces excellent cane".⁴⁶ Acquisition had started at the top of Hackleton's Cliff before January 1653 or Colleton could not have qualified as Vestryman of St John's, to which he was then appointed. A minimum freeholding of ten acres was a necessary prerequisite of office. One month before the Restoration, and a few months before his return to England, Colleton sold Rolleston a quarter share in the Leeward Plantation for a token sum of two shillings, probably to legalise and confirm his continued management of their joint interest. Once established the acreage of the two plantations remained about the same for many years to come, with only some minor adjustments. The estates were built-up by purchase, exchange and sale,

⁴⁵It seems that the St Peter/St Lucy plantation of 311 acres was not lived on or managed by the Colletons. Some of the deeds were in partnership with Samuel Rolleston who may have managed it alone. Having settled earlier he was probably involved in Colleton's original decision to make an investment. The plantation later included one of the most attractive houses on the island, Colleton, which was built in the 19C after the Leeward plantation was sold.

About 1700 the St John's plantation had 360 acres above the cliff. There were also 90 acres below on the Hatches River which ran into what is now called St Martin's Bay. The eastern edge of the cliff top plantation is 800ft above the sea. A mansion house was built but did not survive. The manager's house was built on its ruins in 1834

There were also two leases. One was of 55 acres from St John's Vestry and the other an 84ft square of land with a storehouse and crane by the wharf at Estwick's (now Bath) Bay, with a right of way to the Colleton plantation south of St John's Church. Surprisingly, it shows that berthing in this rough, open and rocky windward bay was practicable before 1665 and must have given some advantage to an enterprising trader. These facilities may have been used later by Peter and Thomas Colleton to provision vessels bound for Carolina, but more likely for the transshipment of sugar and produce within the island.

See Appendix A; HHA D/4, L/20; *JBMHS*, Vol XXXVII (No. 2), (1988), p.134; Map page 31.

⁴⁶Richard S. Dunn, "The Barbados Census of 1680", *WMQ*, Vol XXVI (1969), p. 15.

with a view to concentrating small parcels of land into complete units of optimum size for large-scale production.

The size of a plantation was dictated by the requirement for about one slave per two acres. Slaves were in short supply and estates of much over 500 acres were therefore unusual. Concentrations of the best land in the hands of about two hundred affluent planters created hardship for most of the remaining proprietors and freeholders cultivating mixed crops.⁴⁷ Referring to the poorest white immigrants, displaced by the new plantations as the gradual change was made from servants to slaves, Colleton considered their presence in Barbados inappropriate. They were "of noe interest or reputation, of little innate courage, being poor men that are just permitted to live derided by the negroes and branded with the epithet of white slaves".⁴⁸ Many of them worked in the same field gangs as the black slaves and were often "wild and unruly in the extreme". Some were acquired and transported in circumstances which engendered resentment and hostility towards their employers and they often demonstrated it.⁴⁹

Relief from the harshness of life in a plantation labour gang could be found by enlisting in one of the many expeditionary adventures. The principal aim of Commonwealth foreign policy was to defeat the Spanish. Although beyond the capabilities of Parliament this included the capture and settlement of the Spanish Main. Modyford welcomed an opportunity for expansion. He was a leading advocate of a scheme to use Barbados as a supply base and also contribute 10,000 men for attacks on Spanish possessions in the Caribbean. After the peace treaty with the Dutch in 1654 preparations began. The Barbadians were hostile to the idea of new colonies becoming sugar rivals which would lead to a further drop in market prices. Speaker Modyford was especially unpopular for promoting the expedition and for the billeting of English soldiers on the island. He

⁴⁷*Sugar and Slaves*, p.67.

⁴⁸R. M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*, (Millwood: KTO Press, 1983), p.54.

⁴⁹*Sugar and Slaves*, p.69.

advocated the recruitment of a local contingent to be found from under-employed freemen. Recruiting agents were not particular about qualifications and enlisted 4,000 volunteers most of which the planters wished to retain on their estates. General Venables was appointed by Cromwell to command the land forces. He selected Colleton to be commissioned as Major General of all the Protector's forces in Barbados, which gave him command of the militia.⁵⁰ He also appointed him as Colonel of a Regiment of Horse.⁵¹ The choice of Colleton was influenced by his military experience and his standing among the planters. He had to supply most of the local recruits for the expeditionary force and assist Venables in re-modelling the militia with new officers loyal to Cromwell.

In a most unpopular move Venables exercised the supreme authority he had been given by Cromwell over the Barbados Government and announced that he would expropriate two-thirds of the excise duty to pay for the expedition. This was to be enforced despite a guarantee of no taxation without consent contained in the 1652 articles of surrender to Ayscue. The fleet sailed on 31 March 1655 with 4,000 Barbadian whites, about 13% of the total white population. They suffered a military rebuff at San Domingo and from the plague after capturing Jamaica.⁵² All but a few perished. Venable's depleted force continued northwards leaving a resentful Barbados behind him. The Governor's Council took the unusual step of supporting a proposal to send home an envoy to complain about his activities. Modyford's support for the expedition and his defence of Venables resulted in the loss of his seat at the next general election.⁵³

In March 1656 Modyford resurfaced to charge the royalists with having opposed Venables to discredit the Commonwealth and voiced his abhorrence of the Stuart interest. That his emphatically expressed disloyalty to the Stuarts was later ignored is a matter of fact but his actions

⁵⁰CSPC, 1574-1600, p. 456 (February 1657).

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²Jamaica was later governed by Modyford with mixed results. He was very successful in developing the economy. See "Expansion", p. 120.

⁵³*Barbados*, p. 116.

may have deprived him of the Barbados governorship which he had intrigued with Colleton to obtain. His subterfuge had begun in 1652 on deserting Governor Lord Willoughby. Ever since, he had plotted with Colleton to contrive Governor Searle's recall and his own appointment. He had a good case. Modyford and Colleton had sided with Venables in Barbados and Searle with the planters, despite his appointment by Cromwell. As in Carolina later, it was a not infrequent occurrence for Governors to find themselves more in accord with the views of their constituents than the authority which had appointed them. This was usually due to a sympathy with local circumstances and political pressures or weakness of resolve. The effect of distance and the difficulties of communication changed attitudes and made misunderstandings inevitable.⁵⁴ Searle had no doubt about the retaliatory action he intended to take against Colleton once Venable's fleet was out of reach.

Searle deprived Colleton of his military command as Major General and also his judgeship of Common Pleas. An appeal was heard in London in February 1657, his offices restored by Cromwell and Searle was ordered to explain why they had been removed.⁵⁵ Colleton and Modyford claimed that Searle had been disloyal to the Commonwealth, which was undoubtedly true, but he survived in office. One year later on 9 January 1658, Colonel James Drax, the prominent and moderate planter, was received by the Protector. Cromwell conceded that the islanders should manage their own affairs. He cancelled Colleton's reinstatement and knighted James Drax. The Colleton-Modyford party at court almost immediately obtained Cromwell's order to rescind the concession. Finally, Searle offered reconciliation to Modyford and Colleton by inviting them into the Barbados Council. In December 1659 the Barbados Assembly petitioned Parliament requesting, unsuccessfully, the freedom to choose their own Governor. Nevertheless, Colonel Thomas Modyford was

⁵⁴The reasons for frequent disaffection between Governors and their superiors is discussed in Chapter 9.

⁵⁵There is no evidence that Colleton or Modyford appeared in London in 1657, or 1658, in person. Had they done so they might have had more influence on the course of events.

appointed by Parliament on 24 April 1660, the first planter-Governor, and the Council declared elective.

Modyford took over the Governorship on 16 July 1660. Despite his hard words about the Stuarts a few years earlier he changed sides again and declared for the newly restored Charles II. It is easy to be critical of his flexible loyalty at a time of great uncertainty. A feature of the age was the readiness to condemn but also to forgive as Modyford himself was shortly to find out again.⁵⁶ The characteristics of the Barbados way of life were insecurity and political instability due to some extent to rapidly changing circumstances in the Mother Country. Colleton's own support for the Commonwealth in Barbados and his acceptance of offices did nothing to hinder the favours he received after the Restoration. Cromwell had allowed, out of necessity, a measure of local discretion. Colleton and his friends fought hard to preserve some degree of autonomy.

John Colleton was shortly to leave Barbados for London to press for the exploration of Carolina. What were the motivating factors which made him decide to seek a proprietary charter? Proprietary rule had failed in Barbados and he had contributed to its demise. In fact the island enjoyed quasi-independent status with special concessions for self-government within the Commonwealth. Proprietors' rights had been subverted and ignored partly due to the temporary absence of the royal authority which had issued the proprietary charter. Colleton was at the forefront of a campaign to prevent the return of a Caribbean Proprietary which might conflict with the financial interests of large sugar planters. He must have hoped that a charter for Carolina would cause less contention and that its membership would include men of influence capable of exercising authority under the benevolence of the crown.

The shortage of living space in Barbados is often mentioned as a spur but the evidence is full of contradictions, from Modyford's "over-population report" of 1652 to planter complaints in 1655 that the colony was being denuded of white labour. The large new plantations had

⁵⁶He was arrested later for his activities as Governor of Jamaica. *DNB*, p. 541.

undoubtedly affected the requirement for white labour. Cheaper black manual labour could be obtained although the increasing black ratio caused security fears. Conditions for indentured whites on the plantations were harsh. Indentured whites and freemen readily enlisted for the 1655 Hispaniola adventure and were in surplus according to contemporary estimates of potential recruits by Modyford. The outcome, ending with the reduction of the alternative settlement in Jamaica by disease and lack of provisions, had a chilling affect on other potential emigrants. Using Harlow's and Chandler's figures, nearly one eighth of the white population of Barbados was lost on the Venables Hispaniola expedition.⁵⁷

The large planters controlled the economy and their support was essential for the success of a future Barbados-based colonisation attempt. Yet, in the mid-1650's, they actively discouraged white emigration as a drain on their necessary resources. Furthermore, the population of whites fell only gradually from 22,000 in 1660 to 17,000 in 1820, where it remained until the 20th century.⁵⁸ In spite of claims of over-population in the 1650's the cumulative total continued to rise almost exponentially from 1630 to 1920, with a short-term fall in blacks from 1670 to 1680 during a period of supply shortage.⁵⁹ However, the population of whites, while remaining around 20,000 in the 1660s, concealed the underlying influx of immigrants, voluntary or involuntary, and the outflow of emigrants to other colonies; 7,000 left between 1661 and 1665. White population stability confirms that emigrants and immigrants were roughly in balance despite the very considerable turnover and high mortality rates. Internal pressure for emigration must have existed. All landless freemen and indentured servants had aspirations as landowners. As a leading planter, Colleton was well aware of the needs of the Barbadian labour market and the pressures on fertile land. He was most likely to be conscious of the ambitions of the experienced but uncompetitive small

⁵⁷*Barbados*, p. 112, "Expansion", p. 113.

⁵⁸N.M. Crouse estimated that Barbados had 32,000 whites in 1650 "Causes of the Great Migration", *New England Quarterly*, Vol.V (January 1932), p. 4.

⁵⁹*Barbados*, Appendix B, p. 338, "Expansion", p. 116-7.

planter who had been bought out of his property and how these could best be utilised. He had already given his views on the potential of 'poor white' manual labourers. The discouraging lessons of the under-prepared Hispaniola/Jamaica expeditions were very recent. There were many claims on the volatile white population of Barbados for settlement in all parts of the Caribbean. New settlements were likely to become demanding of manpower as soon as they had achieved a firm foothold when rapid consolidation was essential for both production and protection.

It is necessary here to make a distinction between white manual labour, which could be replaced by cheaper black labour, and the small planter. If less disciplined, the servant whites were more productive and expensive than black labour. Enticement to settle in other colonies was not always successfully resisted by planters. They were antagonistic to the emigration of their own servants unless it was made under their own direction, and Governor Willoughby resented crown instructions for depletions.⁶⁰ It was the disaffected, "squeezed-out" class of small planters and yeoman farmers who offered the best material as settlers and were of most interest to the adventurer planter. They could provide the human resource and leadership for pioneer development, but without greatly affecting population figures in Barbados. Potential settlers in Carolina had a long time to wait for a secure initial foothold. Even then, traceable emigration from Barbados to Carolina in the period 1670-80 contained about one hundred and seventy five identifiable names only, excluding one hundred and fifty servants and slaves, out of the 10,000 Barbadians emigrating during the seventeenth century.⁶¹

The search for suitable alternative areas for settlement and resettlement theoretically excluded consideration of potential sugar

⁶⁰Willoughby complained to the King in 1664, having provided eight hundred people for Jamaica, taking "out of his right pocket to put into his left". Such people he said, should come from Europe who were ten times less prone to death on resettlement. CSPC, 1661-68, p. 217, No. 764.

⁶¹*Sugar and Slaves*, p. 112.

plantations which might then compete with Barbados. The new colonists would be expected to export to Barbados the commodities it required. From the American mainland the lines of communication, even with the protection of islands and the shoreline, were long. The distance to Carolina from Barbados is about fifteen hundred miles. Until Jamaica was captured in 1655 and other French and Spanish potential bases in the Caribbean neutralized by peace treaties, the round sea trip had more than natural hazards. The return trading route to New England, recently opened up by Barbadians was equivalent to a transatlantic passage. If there was acute white over-population in Barbados at this time it is surprising that no restriction was placed in England on emigration. This may have been due to the island's use as a transit point for establishing other Caribbean colonies such as Surinam, Tobago, Trinidad and Jamaica. William Willoughby later objected to sending emigrants to furnish other colonies from Barbados which he felt should come from Europe.⁶²

The conclusion must be that Colleton and his planter/merchant colleagues saw the commercial opportunities of new land in America, virtually non-existent in Barbados, rather than an urgent need to solve a surplus white population. The departure of a few small planters suffering financial hardship and large planters prepared to move with their households would have had little effect on the labour situation in Barbados. It would be more likely to reduce the shortage of land on the island. The large planters were not under any economic pressure to move. Environmental and social pressures caused by the recent influx of undesirables could have been a contributory factor and were the reason for

⁶²The Duke of Albemarle had to intercede with William Willoughby in order to support expeditions to Carolina. CSCHS, p. 14.

Willoughby may have wanted priority for his proprietary colony of Surinam, shortly to be handed by peace treaty to the Dutch, which took large numbers in the early 1660's. Modyford also took large numbers to Jamaica during the same period.

Converse D. Clowse says that Willoughby proposed migration to the Carolina coast in the 1650's. He does not quote a source. Willoughby took an opposite view in 1664. See *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia, University of South Carolina, 1970), pp. 5, 6.

Whistler's contemporary description.⁶³ A fresh clean land of fertile soil, luxuriant vegetation and plentiful wild life must have had its attractions. Colleton himself had no intention of substituting Carolina for Barbados, but saw it as an additional venture. His legal settlement of 1665, which is of considerable detail and complexity makes this evident.⁶⁴ It refutes comment that he left Barbados with any intention of selling up. Political factors in the island were of some consequence. The struggle by Willoughby to retain his proprietorship, John Colleton's antipathy towards him and Willoughby's likely return to Barbados as governor after the Restoration may have strengthened Colleton's resolve to settle an alternative colony. The irony is that Colleton contributed towards instability in Barbados by the planned subversion of Willoughby and Searle. He would not welcome subversion of the Carolina Proprietary. Nevertheless, after the initial landings in Carolina the Proprietors and their appointed governors were to find great difficulty in achieving acceptance of their terms and jurisdiction. It was not long before there were intrigues and challenges to proprietary authority on the Barbados pattern.

Colleton's immediate concerns would have been the maintenance of Barbados' newly won freedoms, the withdrawal of Willoughby's authority in favour of dependence on the Crown and the promotion of Modyford's cause in Barbados. He had expected restrictions on free trading to be lifted under royal rule, not more rigorously imposed by excluding the Dutch.⁶⁵ He had plantations of over 700 acres to maintain on which he had invested heavily.⁶⁶ The price of sugar had fallen over recent years, the

⁶³*Sugar and Slaves*, p. 77

⁶⁴HHA D/4.

⁶⁵Charles II's Declaration of Breda of 4th April 1660 promised an indemnity, settlement of land disputes, payment of army arrears and liberty of conscience.

⁶⁶C. M. Andrews states that Colleton withdrew from Barbados due to inability to compete with larger planters. This is incorrect. He did not withdraw his interest, and left one of the largest plantations settled under Trustees, in the legal terminology of the day, "for 1,000 years". A copy of the Deed is held in the Barbados Archives, RB3 20.160. See *Colonial Period*, p.18. Andrews quotes *Barbados*, pp. 306, 309, 340.

days of exceptional profits were over and the sugar market was restricted to England by the Navigation Acts. As a result of intensive cultivation, soil fertility had declined and the future of Barbados was no longer as promising as the boom years of the 1640's and 1650's. Protective measures for his present investment and an alternative enterprise were required. Fortunately, for Colleton the enthusiasm of the Stuarts for their colonial enterprises was soon to be reactivated. Colleton never went back to the island, partly because he did not wish to live under Willoughby's proprietorship and partly because political changes in England had restored the attractions of life at home.⁶⁷

Although changes to the home government were expected in early May 1660 by Barbados observers of the English political scene, confirmation of the Restoration could not have reached there much before the end of July 1660. An unattributed letter was received in London from Barbados written on 6 May 1660 which anticipated a change of rule. It mentioned Colleton and Modyford "gangling" against Governor Searle.⁶⁸ Colleton is recorded in July 1660 as a petitioner and signatory, with Thomas Middleton and fourteen other merchant planters in London, seeking the recall of the King's letter of 9 July which had appointed Willoughby as Governor.⁶⁹ Therefore Colleton must have made a very rapid journey home after 6 May to pre-empt Willoughby as soon as he heard of Charles II's probable return.⁷⁰ Charles arrived in England on 25 May. His letter of 9 July appointing Willoughby could not have resulted in a Barbados petition against appointment arriving in London by 2 August, the date it was read in Committee. Until challenged in law, the re-establishment of the proprietary of Carlisle, sub-let to Willoughby, automatically followed the Restoration. A complicated dispute followed in Whitehall and the Committee for American Affairs referred the Carlisle

⁶⁷ *Colonial Period*, p. 184.

⁶⁸ CSPC, 1574-1660, P. 479, No. 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 483, No. 18.

⁷⁰ The speed of private Barbadian intelligence channels was often to benefit the planters. CSPC, 1574-1660, p. 486, No. 29.

patent and all other American proprietary grants to the Attorney General. The opposing claim on behalf of the old Courteen interest was handed-in by Thomas Kendall. The Attorney General found the patents invalid.

Meanwhile, in October 1660, in expectation of royal confirmation of his Governorship and to secure his position, Modyford had raised the Barbados militia.⁷¹ Humphrey Walrond, President of the Council, ordered Modyford to disband or face a charge of high treason. He was arrested but the influence of his patron, the Duke of Albemarle, secured his release. On 1 March 1661 Colleton and his fellow planters in London petitioned the King to place Barbados under the control of the Crown. Thomas Kendall, Modyford's brother-in-law, without the authority of his colleagues, offered a levy of 4 1/2% on exports as a bait. A recent decision of the Attorney General on the legality of the Barbados proprietary patents and Kendall's fateful levy offer were accepted and in 1662 the Crown resumed the proprietorship. Willoughby was to be Governor for the last seven years of his Carlisle lease and receive half the proprietary profits. Modyford was appointed Speaker. Walrond, the Council and Assembly united in order to obtain the best possible terms from their new proprietor and Governor. The period of stability which followed was a welcome relief from the turmoil of the previous ten years.

⁷¹This followed a misleading letter from the King of November 1660 advising Modyford to continue as Governor (CSPC, 157401660, p. 492, No. 58.)

CHAPTER 3

The Carolina Charter

On John Colleton's return to London after the Restoration he used and acquired patronage which gave him positions of influence on key government committees.¹ Through his new associates, merchanting experience and the strength of his record at home during the Civil War he was able to attract enough interest from courtiers owed Restoration favours for them to support an appeal to the King for a Carolina charter. Colleton and Albemarle provided leadership during the first moves towards founding the colony. They depended upon the assistance of Colleton's connections in Barbados to obtain most of the intelligence, emigrants and material required to mount and sustain an expedition.

With Carolina in mind, Colleton could benefit from the reawakened interest in colonial adventure specially favoured by Charles II, his brother James, Duke of York, and Prince Rupert. He needed associates more powerful than himself who could influence the King. On 7 November 1660 he was appointed a Commissioner for Trade and three weeks later one of the fifteen sub-committee members of the Select Committee for Foreign Plantations as a mark of his new standing and the favour of Albemarle. No doubt Colleton had some right to expect reward for his expensive loyalty to Charles I, but he might also have expected some questions about his activities in Barbados.² His co-members were Lord

¹There is no evidence of a return visit to England during his ten years in Barbados except the possibility that he petitioned Cromwell in person after Searle had stripped him of his Venables commissions. He left Barbados so quickly after the Restoration he may not have been accompanied by his children. He lived near the Church of St Giles from 1660-5 when he moved to St Martin-in-the-Fields. He was addressed there by Thomas Woodward "neere St. Jameses", the centre of court and government. *Colonial Period*, p. 185 and SP., f.7.

²CSPD, 1660-1661, p. 322, No. 44. Colleton was described as "having lived much in France and Spain and ten years in the West Indies, where he disbursed £30,000 in planting and therefore can give advice therein, and having lost £4,000 in the service of the late King". Andrews cites Colleton and Modyford as being cousins of Albemarle. Albemarle himself claimed them as such. I can find no evidence of relationship, but they were all Devonians. *Colonial Period*, p. 187; CSPC, 1601-68,

Ashley, Sir James Drax, Martin Noel, Thomas Kendall, Thomas Middleton, all with Caribbean interests, and nine others. They had a defined responsibility to report on the state of the Plantations in Jamaica and New England. They formed a sub-committee of correspondence to deal with the administration of these territories and the Caribbee Islands, which included Barbados. The significance of these appointments was that the first committee included six of the future Proprietors of Carolina and the second included Sir William Berkeley. Craven became a member after Colleton's death. Thus Colleton was in regular and close contact with those influential people he wished to convince about the virtues of Carolina. He served on the particular committees most likely to influence the Crown to provide a charter.

The presence of Ashley on the committee offered Colleton an opportunity. He was one of a group of courtier promoters led by the Duke of York who was responsible for a number of world-wide entrepreneurial activities. Another effective group, the merchants and planters' agents in London, took a more commercial view of colonial enterprises. They represented the views of their colleagues in Barbados separately from Crown Committee channels and were sometimes known as the Gentlemen of Barbados. They were already well known to Colleton and some had also been recruited to the two crucial committees. Ashley was the most determined of the courtier promoters and shortly "the plantations became the absorbing interest of his life."³ He was urged into action by Colleton and Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia and brother of Colleton's old commander now Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Colleton also needed the backing of supporters more trusted than Ashley, whose loyalty to the Crown was suspect. He was a protege of Albemarle, but disliked by Clarendon.

On 18 February 1661 Colleton was created Knight and Baronet by Charles II. As the award came nine months after the Restoration, Charles

No. 549; J. C. Santy, *Office Holders in Modern Britain*, 9 Vols, (University of London, 1974), III, Officials of the Board of Trade 1660-1870, pp. 18,21.

³K. H. D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 237.

may have wanted to see first some proof of Barbadian good intentions towards the Crown. The short-lived support for the Commonwealth by Colleton and Modyford, the Barbadian "grandees", had been more anti-Willoughby than pro-Cromwell.⁴ Colleton owed the accolade to Lord Berkeley of Stratton, his Civil War commander, who had presented a certificate to the King in recognition of his loyal services.⁵

Colleton was soon faced with a clash of interests over the Navigation Acts. Ashley, the only Privy Councillor on the committee, agreed with the view that they furthered the interests of English shipping and that all trade with the colonies should be reserved for Englishmen in order to build-up the unchallengeable supremacy of the merchant navy and the employment of English mariners.⁶ Ashley's view prevailed and had important consequences for the growth of empire. No further objections by Colleton are recorded but he and his son Peter continued for the rest of their lives to press for improved trading terms for Barbados exports. Sir John was one of three sponsors of a project to assist the island's economy, initiated by Francis Craddock, to set up the first English colonial bank. Ashley had little faith in the scheme, but was prepared to support an experiment in Barbados. The bank would be allowed to provide loans to merchant planters at a maximum of 6 per cent interest, with a quarter of the profits to be credited to the public revenue. A warrant was issued on 9 December 1661. Clarendon held up the grant and the bank never came into existence.⁷ The scheme demonstrated Colleton's continuing commitment to the economy of the island.

During the early 1660s Sir John established his position on the Council for Foreign Plantations. The first move towards Carolina settlement took place while Sir William Berkeley was on a visit to London

⁴CSPC, 1574-1660, p. 479, Chap. 3.

⁵E. M. Shilstone, "The Thirteen Baronets", *JBMHS*, Vol II, p. 89.

⁶Haley, *Shaftesbury*, pp. 236,237.

⁷This was to be a joint stock land bank to operate in conjunction with a London marketing association. Its purpose was to restore profits by removing the middleman. The reason for Clarendon's refusal is not defined. "Expansion", p. 118.

from Virginia. He was asked by the Council to influence further migration from the north into the Albemarle Sound border region of Northern Carolina, where some settlements had already been made.⁸ This appeared to be the most promising entry route and obviated the need for a large seaborne expedition but very little came of his initiative. The responsibility for the formation of the proprietary group is not entirely clear but as "kinsman" of three leading Barbadian planters (Colleton, Kendall and Modyford), the Duke of Albemarle was a popular choice to head the petition for a charter. As the trusted instrument of restoration he had worked closely with Ashley to plan Charles's return and enjoyed the reputation of a national hero. Ashley as the youngest proprietor candidate was a man for the future but Albemarle's influence was of immediate consequence. Ashley was an ardent supporter of the sovereignty of parliament. He was efficient, hardworking, ambitious and an advocate of colonial expansion. He would become the ideal motivator of the project once the figureheads had delivered the Charter.

John, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, owed Colleton his goodwill for previous military service. He could also provide access to the Duke of York who had a special interest in the promotion of merchant adventures. Colleton had already been involved in dealings with the Duke of York. He had acquired a profitable commission giving him and others the right to grant retail wine licences. These were sold originally by the crown to raise money for foreign wars. His colleagues in this investment once again

⁸In 1664 he established a government for them. A New England settlement at Cape Fear c.1662 was abandoned, temporarily resettled by Barbadians (Vassall) in 1664, again in 1665 (Yeamans) and finally abandoned in 1667. Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings*, pp. 9-11.

Table 3

Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas - Status 24 March 1663 at Grant of Charter

| Sir George Carteret | Sir William Berkeley | Lord (John) Berkeley | Duke of Albemarle (Gen Monk) | Sir John Colleton | Earl of Craven | Earl of Clarendon | Lord Ashley |
|--|--|---|---|-------------------|---|--|--|
| 1 64 | 58 | 57 | 55 | 55 | 54 | | 42 |
| 2 Jersey | Family Home Bruton, Somerset | Family Home Bruton, Somerset | Torrington, Devon | Exeter, Devon | London? | Dinton, Wiltshire | Wimborne St Giles, Dorset |
| 3 1599-1674 (a. 75) | 1605-1677 (a. 72) | 1606-1678 (a. 72) | 1608-1670 (a. 62) | 1608-1667 (a. 59) | 1608-1697 (a. 89) | 1609-1674 (a. 65) | 1621-1683 (a. 62) |
| 4 1639 Controller Navy. 1643 Lt Governor Jersey. 1660 Vice-Chamberlain Royal Household. Treasurer Navy. | 1641-1652 and 1660-1677 Governor of Virginia | 1638 Knighted by Charles I at Berwick 1640 MP. 1642 Battle of Stratton. 1645 Active in South West. 1646 Exile in Paris until Restoration. | Royalist comm. Ireland 1644-1646 Imprisoned. 1646 joined Cromwell. 1654 suppressed Royalists in Scotland. 1658/9 restored Parliament. 1660 prompted Declaration of Breda. | Merchant Planter. | Royalist In exile at Court in Holland. Friend of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. | Royalist 1654 expelled Commons. Remained with Charles I in exile. 1658 Lord Chancellor. 1663 influence ended. 1667 fled to France. | 1640 MP Tewkesbury. 1643 supported Charles I 1644 supported Parliament. 1654 left Privy Council. 1659 co-operated with Monk. 1660 Commissioner to Breda. 1661 Chancellor of Exchequer. |

1 Age

2 Birth place

3 Dates

4 Appointments, etc.

Sources: DNB; Visitations

included a member of the Berkeley family, Sir Maurice Berkeley of Bruton, Somerset, father of Lord Berkeley and his brother Sir William.⁹

Clarendon, as Lord Chancellor, was the key to royal and parliamentary patronage. He had already large Caribbean interests and could see commercial, political and strategic advantages in filling up the dangerous territorial vacuums in the Central Caribbean, and on the American mainland between Spanish Florida and Virginia. Sir George Carteret and Lord Craven, two more lifelong royalists and exiles from the Commonwealth, gave the future proprietary the flavour of a committee of Court with Colleton as the only outsider. Craven took a personal interest in the organisation which he later controlled for nineteen years as the third Lord Palatine. Carteret was already aged 64 and enjoyed special royal favour. He and Lord Berkeley were shortly to receive the proprietary of New Jersey.

Six of the Proprietors were between 54 and 59 years old and Ashley was the youngest at 42. They all had royalist backgrounds, although Ashley's previous switches of loyalty had made the permanence of his affiliation doubtful. Nevertheless, a common denominator of the group was Crown indebtedness. A charter was an inexpensive reward. Another common thread was the West Country origin of no less than six of the eight Proprietors.¹⁰

The association of these men led to other trading ventures and investments in which common membership was a feature, the Company of Royal Adventurers in Africa, the Hudson's Bay Company and the proprietary of the Bahamas. The former of these companies was founded in 1660 under a royal charter. Prince Rupert, first cousin of Charles II, was the leading participant. Its area of operations was principally the Gambia, found from the experience of other European countries to

⁹The Commissioners purchased their right from the Duke of York in September 1661 for a period of eleven years at a cost of £20,000 for an annual return of £1,500. *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library, 1660-1726*, Vol V, pp. 247, 407, Clarendon MSS in the Bodleian Library, 81, f. 170 b.

¹⁰Table 3, page 47.

provide the best slaves now urgently required in the Caribbean colonies. In January 1663 the Adventurers were granted a huge area of Africa, from the Barbary Coast (Gambia) to the Cape of Good Hope, as the franchise for the acquisition of slaves.¹¹ Over half of the initial thirty-two members of the company, which included Sir John Colleton, were peers or members of the royal family, namely the Queen Mother, the Duke of York and Prince Rupert. Five of the future Lords Proprietors of Carolina and Thomas Modyford, who became Governor of Jamaica the following year, were also members. In 1667, the year of Sir John's death, there were twenty-two titled shareholders against forty-nine commoners. The company had a typical Restoration profile with a core of nobility and the support of privileged merchants.¹²

From its operations, and those of its 1672 successor The Royal African Company, began the growth of the later immense British West African Empire. Slave trading was started by the Portuguese in the mid-16th century and slaves exchanged for gold. A small number were exported to the New World. Plantation agriculture caused a large expansion of traffic during the 1630s and consequently competition among the European maritime powers to obtain cheap labour. The Dutch were the first suppliers to the Caribbean area. During the same period they occupied the Portuguese plantations in Brazil. By 1642 they had ousted all opposition and became the source of supply to Barbadian planters. The Dutch wars and the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Acts on foreign shipping trading to the colonies made a British supply of labour to Barbados essential. During the 1650s and 1660s the principal continental powers built fortified trading settlements at every fishing village along more than five hundred miles of the Gambian coast. In the second half of the 1660s, an important period in the history of English commercial expansion, twenty thousand slaves were shipped yearly across

¹¹ CSPC, 1661-68, p. 120, No. 408.

¹² K G Davies, *The Royal African Company*, (London: Longmans, 1957) pp. 41-44 (*passim*).

the Atlantic from West Africa rising to sixty thousand by the 18th century.¹³

By setting up the company, Charles II warned the Dutch and other rivals that England intended to take a share in the trade. The Secretary of the Company wrote to Lord Willoughby as Chief Governor of the Caribbean colonies to establish terms for slave supply. He recognised the need to have "a competent and constant supply of negro servants for their own use in Planting". The company would despatch within eight days enough ships to provide three thousand negroes to fill the planters needs. It established the price at which their factors would sell an adult male slave, £17 or 2,400 lbs of well-cured Muscovado sugar in cask or the equivalent in cotton or indigo. Shares were offered in the company to English Barbadian investors.¹⁴ The "Guinea" factor in Barbados was Sir John's eldest son and heir Peter, now aged 27.¹⁵ A network of beneficial and interlocking business connections had been put together by father and son to allow scope for the development of colonial enterprises. The accumulation of position and power was to continue throughout Peter's life, in the manner of his father.

It was clearly the intention of the Carolina proprietors to develop a colony with the minimum of personal financial commitment, on a self-funding basis. The chairmanship of the Proprietary was to go to the Duke of Albemarle with Sir John Colleton taking the major organisational role. The leadership responsibility was unequivocally theirs.¹⁶ Barbadian colonists would fund the initial costs, mainly by making contributions of sugar. Land grants were to be generous. Personal and political freedoms were to be written into their constitution. Colleton had the resources of

¹³Statistics in this paragraph are from Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *The African Middle Ages, 1400-1800*, (Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 75-91.

¹⁴C. & D. Plimmer, *Slavery: The Anglo-American Involvement* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 19.

¹⁵Thomas Modyford was the company's senior representative on the island. Peter Colleton was agent for the sale of negro slaves from the Guinea Coast. CSPC, 1661-68, No. 1580.

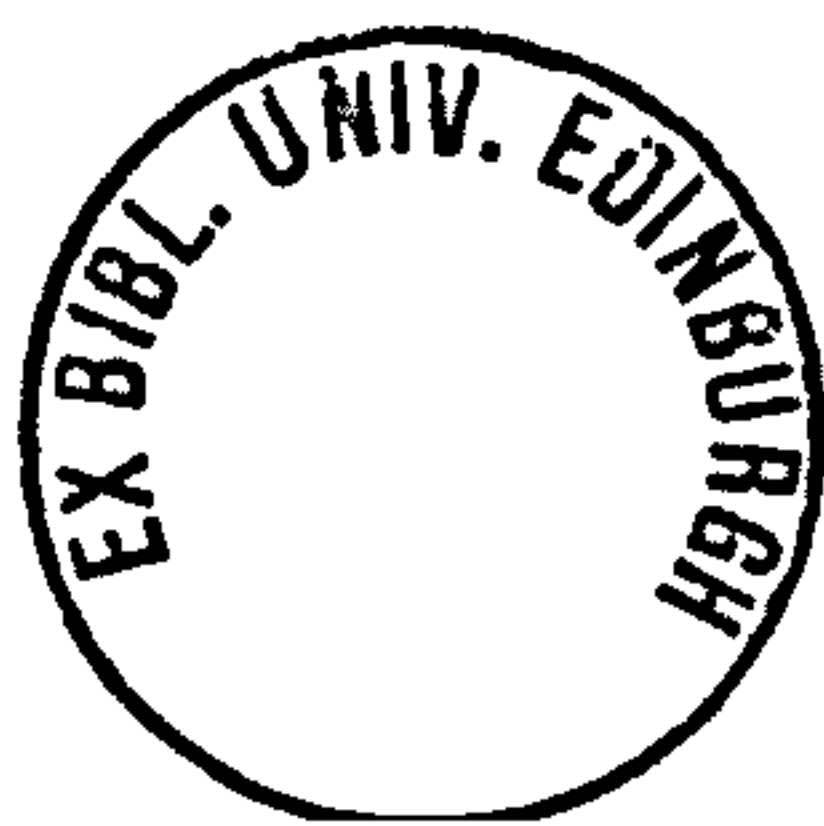
¹⁶Sir John's crucial role is recognised by M.E. Sirmans, CSC, pp. 4-6.

his own family and friends based in Barbados to launch reconnaissances and parties of settlers although only Peter was presently located there. He would have the guidance of Sir John's old friend Thomas Modyford; only a charter was required to give the authority to proceed.

The Charter was finally granted on 24 March 1663. The long delay since the Restoration was partly due to the inevitable pressures of work on the new administration which had many other priorities. Charles II had encouraged a range of colonial and domestic initiatives. Carolina took its place among them. There was some anxiety as to whether Spain would react to claims on vacant territory in such close proximity to her own interests. St Augustine, an outpost of Spanish Florida, was just over 200 miles from Port Royal, itself only 500 miles from the Virginian border with no European settlements between. It represented an encroachment which would deny them most of the Atlantic seaboard of America.

The grant of the charter was in contradiction to the original directions to a Select Council under which such patents were to be awarded. The principle of virtual and absolute proprietary rule undertaken rental from the crown was based on the ancient County Palatine of Durham. This allowed the establishment of a feudal aristocracy and proprietary discretion over the delegation of powers to Governors and their appointed Councillors. The interpretation of later constitutions, established or rejected but applied under the Charter, was to be a source of continuing difficulty until the independence of Carolina. The Charter gave the Proprietors the right to enact laws provided they were not repugnant to the laws of England, appoint a judiciary and make ordinances until an assembly of free holders had been appointed, to transport themselves and goods, to be exempted from duties on specified products for seven years, and to erect and constitute ports. They could also confer titles provided they were different to those in England.¹⁷ They

¹⁷This provision had implications for the titles and form of aristocracy written into the Fundamental Constitutions by John Locke.



could make war and specifically, grant liberty of conscience.¹⁸ The Province and inhabitants were to be subject to the Crown of England.

At their first meeting on 23 May 1663 the Proprietors authorised Sir John Colleton to receive £25 from each Proprietor for disbursement as decided by a majority. They reserved 20,000 acres in every settlement for the Proprietors on which public buildings would be constructed, commissioned maps and publicised an invitation for planters from Barbados and New England especially, to settle in Carolina.¹⁹ It was originally intended that 100 acres should be granted to each planter with proportionate grants to their servants. An appropriate scale of payments in sugar geared to acreage was agreed later and published in 1664.²⁰ The first appointments to the Palatine Court of Carolina were announced. The Duke of Albemarle was titled Lord Palatine (Chairman), Craven High Constable, Lord Berkeley Chancellor, and Carteret Admiral. Later the appointment of Chief Justice went to Lord Ashley. Sir John's precise responsibilities as High Steward to the Proprietary are not entirely clear. An analysis of his correspondence and the minutes of the Proprietary show that he was closely involved with the operational aspects of settlement. A number of reports from reconnaissances and the Caribbean were sent to his address which confirm that he operated in the manner of a Managing Director with day to day control of events.²¹ Succession to vacant posts was to be available in age seniority as Proprietors died, to the next in line.

A few days after the 23 May 1663 meeting, following the sealing of the Charter, the Proprietors were made aware of two counter claims to Carolina based on prior grants of the same territory. Colleton's initiative

¹⁸CSPC, 1661-68, No. 427.

¹⁹London merchants with established contacts in New England were also keen to exploit commercial opportunities. *Ibid.*, No. 457.

²⁰The final agreement with the Proprietors, The Barbados Concessions, was published in January 1665. See Chapter 4.

²¹CSPC, 1661-68. See entries under John Colleton 1663-67 (*passim*), SP, 1664-67 (*passim*)

in bringing Samuel Vassall's claim to Albemarle's attention on 10 June and his advice that there were many people ready to settle is an indication that he perceived himself as the leader of expeditionary enterprise on behalf of the Proprietary.²² Vassall had pretended an assignment under Heath's moribund patent and was hindering properly authorised settlement. It was arranged for the claims to be received at a hearing of the Privy Council but they were not rejected and disposed of until 12 August.²³ As a result of the hearing it became an important condition of future grants that they would become void if no plantation had been established within a specified period.²⁴

The Proprietors used the time taken up by legal consideration of old charters to make preparation for the future and on 25 August 1663 issued their "Declaration and Prospects" in order to respond to interest from New England. This stated the Proprietors' terms for the first colony on the Charles River, reserved themselves 20,000 acres, gave the settlers a right to fortify the colony at their expense and called for thirteen nominations from which the Proprietors would choose a Governor and Council. It offered freedom of conscience and limited exemption from customs. The freedom of conscience clause came directly from the 1663 Charter. It was repeated in the 1665 Amending Charter and gave a clear licence to those who could not "conform to the public exercise of religion" according to the "ceremonies of the Church of England". This liberal and exceptional concession gave encouragement for non-conformists to settle.²⁵ Land grants were restricted to 100 acres for each armed "undertaker", and scaled down for servants, in consideration of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rent

²²CSPC, 1661-68, No. 476 W.K. Kavenagh, *Foundations of Colonial America; A Documentary History*, 3 Vols., (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1973), III, pp. 1747-8.

²³*Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial)*, 1613-1680, 12 August 1663.

²⁴CSPC, 1661-68, No. 525.

²⁵It later gave protection to the dissenters championed by their Agent Joseph Boone in his successful struggle for the recall of the Establishment Act of 1706. *Foundations of Colonial America*, Vol III, pp. 1746-7, 1759.

1665 Proprietor's Charter for Carolina: Sir John Colleton's Original Sealed by Charles II



Sir John Colleton I's original of the 30 June 1665 Charter. It incorporates the amendment to the 1663 Charter extending the existing boundaries northwards and southwards. Reproduced by permission of Alan Godsall, HHA (unreferenced), framed. (Photograph J E Buchanan).

per acre.²⁶ There is evidence from Modyford and Peter Colleton that previous drafts had already been discussed.²⁷ The Calendar of State Papers records on 9 September 1663 that Colonel Thomas Modyford and Colleton "have taken with them a Declaration and Proposals". This supports a view that both may have made a brief visit to London for planning discussions with the Lords Proprietors before that date especially with Sir John and Lord Ashley. If such a visit was made, the early and direct involvement of Peter emphasises the role played by the next generation of Colletons.²⁸ His presence was required in Barbados to manage the plantation and foster the Carolina interest. Thomas Colleton, Peter's next brother, was to be the means of sending out a copy of the charter.²⁹ He returned there permanently in September 1663 to play his full part in support of future expeditions. Preparations were put in hand in the island to mount an exploration of the Carolina coastline. Peter and Colonel Thomas Modyford had already established in Barbados the Lords Proprietors forward base.³⁰ On 8 September, 1663, one month after the revocation of the former patents, copies of the charter became available and were despatched to Sir William Berkeley in Virginia and to Barbados.³¹ The moment had arrived when a Barbadian reconnaissance mission could be despatched to confirm the most suitable areas. Less

²⁶*Colonial Period*, p.192.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸It is difficult to determine from CSPC whether Peter was in Barbados or London in the early summer of 1663. CSPC, 1661-68, No. 560.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰Peter was then aged 28. He is often mentioned in Barbados records as a barrister, but there is no reference to any training in the law.

About this time, or shortly afterwards, he became the father of an illegitimate son born in Barbados, named Charles, who emigrated to Carolina about 1686. He is hardly mentioned until that time and the name and history of Peter Colleton's mistress is unknown. See will of Peter Colleton RB6/43.33; "CFSC", p. 341, and the entry for Sir Peter Colleton in *HP:HC*, 1660-1690, Vol. II, p. 109.

³¹The Colleton copy of the 1663 charter has not survived, but may have been recalled on the issue of the revised charter of 30 June 1665. This extended the boundaries of Carolina to include the Albemarle Sound settlements in the north, and into Florida in the south. It is otherwise similar. The Colleton copy of the 1665 charter has been preserved. It was probably brought from Barbados to England early in the 18C by John Colleton, son of James and grandson of Sir John, with other historic title documents. See photograph page 54.

cautious groups from New England and Massachusetts had already sent parties to the northern Carolina coast.

CHAPTER 4

The Failures of Reconnaissance and the First Permanent Settlement in South Carolina

In this chapter the events leading to the first permanent settlement in Carolina south of Albemarle Sound are set out in chronological order and in some detail. This is to clarify apparent misinterpretations in some published accounts. The use of despatch dates for communications may have led to incorrect assumptions but these can be largely corrected by deducing receipt dates, even though letters were delayed or lost on the hazardous routes to their destination.

It took eight years after Captain William Hilton's reconnaissances before a successful landing was achieved in Carolina, on the Ashley River. Two direct endeavours from Barbados to re-establish a site at Cape Fear abandoned by settlers from the north, probably Massachusetts, were unsuccessful. The second of these was a diversion from Port Royal, the target area chosen by the Proprietary. The implications of the death of Sir John Colleton to the Carolina enterprise, the loss of expeditionary leadership in Barbados caused by promotion and the effect of the second Dutch war on emigration by sea, meant that several years elapsed until an attempt from England could be mounted. Its success in overcoming repeated disasters was partly due to the resilience of Captain John Russell, Master of the *Port Royal*. He received inadequate recognition for his persistence.

One of the first documented explorations of the Carolina coast, then part of Florida, was by merchant Edward Bland about the time of Sir John Colleton's move to Barbados. He led a trading expedition to "New Brittain" in 1650 and carried out a reconnaissance of the coastal area lying between the 35th and 37th parallels. He described "a pleasant county of temperate Ayre, and fertile soyle" and "a place so easie to be

settled in".¹ Bland was followed by Francis Yeardley, who wrote from Virginia in May 1654 and described a visit to the Tuscarora Indians on Roanoke Island in Albemarle Sound in the same area that Bland had visited.² The Tuscaroras were to play a dramatic part in the life of future colonists.³

A group of "severall gentlemen and persons of good quality" was formed in Barbados late in 1662 or early in 1663.⁴ Their leaders, in communication with Albemarle, were Thomas Modyford and Peter Colleton. Correspondence in the autumn of 1663 was frequent, especially from the Proprietary. It gives an impression of urgency and enthusiasm. Modyford and Peter Colleton wrote from Barbados to Albemarle with plans for the new province on 13 August 1663, the day before the revocation of the former Carolina patents.⁵ William Hilton, the leader of a 1662 reconnaissance to the Cape of Fear area, was again hired and sent in his ship *Adventure* to confirm his earlier findings:

... and twenty-two men well-fitted and victualled for seven months for discovery of that coast southwards from Cape Faire (sic) as far as 31 degrees north latitude (the southern limit of the grant): in which design of discovery there are and will be above two hundred gentlemen and amongst them many persons of good quality in this Island, whoe are and wilbe at a considerable charge therein.

This second voyage by Hilton was mainly to refute the:

... civil report bruited thereof, by those sent from New England to settle at Cape Faire contrary to what Mr William Hilton and the rest send with him to discover that coast did and doe affirme thereof

Hilton's first visit had probably followed closely a settlement at Cape Fear by a group from Massachusetts, with support from London merchants,

¹*Early Carolina*, pp. 5-19.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 25-29.

³See Chapter 9,

⁴*CSCHS*, pp. 10-12.

⁵*Ibid.*

known as "The Adventurers for carrying on a plantation in Charles River (Cape Fear) on the coast of Florida".⁶ After his return visit in December 1663 he confirmed signs of an abandoned settlement and found a derogatory note which he may have seen on his previous reconnaissance.⁷ The Adventurers assumed that Proprietary authorisation for a landing would soon follow Hilton's report on the suitability of selected areas of the coast. In expectation of a full scale settlement expedition, they took preparatory action.

Peter Colleton and his colleagues had their own ideas about setting up the colony. They asked the Proprietors for a copy of the charter, the right to empower their nominees to purchase 1,000 square miles of territory from the natives and permission to form a Corporation of the Barbados Adventurers. They sought a delegation of the rights the Lord Proprietors had been granted by the Crown, including the power of electing governors. These powers were far in excess of the authority which the Proprietary was likely to offer but were considered necessary by the Barbadians to encourage settlement by experienced planters.⁸ They advised "that many hundreds of noble families and well experienced planters ... are willing and ready to move speedily thither", with their servants and slaves. They required a direction to Caribbean Governors not to hinder emigration. They offered a list of intended settlers and asked for the names of committee members to be left in "blancke" for nomination in Barbados and later in Carolina. In an accompanying letter, Modyford and Peter Colleton requested a negotiator to be appointed to treat with them over the terms. They considered that laws made by the

⁶*Colonial Period*, p. 193.

⁷Hilton made no surviving report of his first journey of exploration. The signs of previous visitors may have been the traces of an expedition from Virginia, or further north, made before the Massachusetts expedition which was transported by ship. Although Modyford and Colleton in their letter of 12 August 1663 attributed it to the New Englanders, the Proprietors, writing on 30 August, said "some ill-willers have contrived the disorder that hapend to those that lately went thither before the ships went from New England". CSCHS, pp. 10,13.

⁸The preamble described the King's "good intention for ye Propogacon of ye Christian faith amongst ye Barbarous and Ignorant Indians, ye Inlargement of his Empire and Dominion and inriching of his subjects". CSCHS, p. 13.

settlers should be bye-laws only. It was proposed that persons of quality and their friends should have the sole power of electing all delegates, governors and officers; the powers of local governors and officials in the Corporation territory should relate to those of a *Mayor and Corporation of Exeter*. Such a proposal by two sons of recent members of Exeter Corporation might have been expected to find some acceptance with the strongly Devonian proprietary.⁹ The quasi-autonomy they proposed had a flavour of the Barbadian planter concept of economic independence and a return to the pre-Restoration freedoms denied them on the island. There is every possibility that their plans were a translation of thwarted idealism.

On 21 August 1663 the Proprietors issued one of their first directives about the location of the settlement. They suggested that if the colony settled on the Charles River (Cape Fear River), "as seems desired (,) to do so on the larboard (port) side". This may have had some contemporary defensive or nautical relevance. More likely, it would make use of the river as a physical barrier between the settlements on the Albemarle Sound and new landings to the South. The Proprietors preferred exploitation to be directed southwards and westwards of the early reconnaissance area at Cape Fear and not superimpose upon it. Cape Fear had a compelling attraction but was already associated with failure.

Another Barbados group was referred to by the Proprietors on 30 August.¹⁰ One of them was John Vassall whose family claim to a proprietary assignment under an old patent had been found invalid. He proposed to make another attempt at Cape Fear. It is not certain whether his party was a "breakaway" from the Barbados Adventurers but he accepted their right to make land grants on behalf of the Proprietors.¹¹ The Proprietors enclosed a declaration of intent to be given widespread

⁹J M Sosin's interpretation is that Modyford and Colleton thought the Adventurers ought to select municipal or county officials rather than governors. Their request was expressed differently and sought mayoral status for governors. See *English America*, p. 127, and the text of the Modyford/Colleton letter, CSCHS, p. 12.

¹⁰CSCHS, pp. 13, 14.

¹¹See Henry Vassall's letter to Sir John Colleton SP, f. 10.

publication, particularly in view of the adverse stories about Cape Fear. They advised that the earlier New England party had failed to enter the river found by Hilton on his first expedition and entered another at the wrong time of year for "worke". They urged the Barbadians to continue "as (they) were informed the ... ayre (is) wondrous healthy and temperate ...", and a range of new commodities including sugar, tobacco, ginger, cotton and indigo might be produced which the nation required in great quantities.¹² Albemarle reassured Peter Colleton and Thomas Modyford that Governor Francis Willoughby had been asked not to "discountenance" the efforts to encourage Barbadians to settle in the new province.¹³ Perhaps with some foreknowledge and anticipation of the Adventurers "Barbados Proposals" the right of the Barbadians to select the first Carolina Governor was rejected. Some of the Proprietors favoured the Adventurers making their

own choyce of a Governor without there presenting (him to the people); if your people desire the like it shall be done, more freedom than this we may not give.

Alternatives to the first proposals were invited. Albemarle wrote to Willoughby the following day invoking his support and enlarging the list of prospective commodities from Carolina to include

wine, oyle, reasons, currents, rice, silke corne meale flower, beefe and porke I have written to my couzen Modyford and couzen Peter Colleton to promote Carolina Plantation. I pray countenance them in it.¹⁴

There is no room for doubt that the Proprietors intended to promote the Carolina venture through the services of Modyford and Peter Colleton in Barbados or that the Colletons were principals in effecting the settlement plans with the father at the Proprietary office in London and son at the operational base.¹⁵ Peter's application to the project must have been

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹³CSCHS, pp. 14.

¹⁴31 August 1663, *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

¹⁵This statement is supported by the views of Andrews and Simmons. They aver that Sir John was the probable originator of the charter initiative and his son

sharpened as heir to a Proprietor's share of Carolina. Modyford's energy and time were shortly to be taken up in Jamaica, leaving Peter with the main responsibility in the New World.

Willoughby failed to play a contributory role and seemed determined to restrict Barbadian support to ventures in the Lesser Antilles. In September 1663 he informed the French Governor of Martinique "that Barbados finding itself overburdened with people, and willing to enlarge themselves" intended to occupy Santa Lucia.¹⁶ This was an entirely Barbadian plan which Willoughby adopted. In 1664 he changed his view about an "overburden" after providing eight hundred emigrants at the King's command for Modyford to establish in Jamaica. He complained to the King that such depletions should be met directly from Europe.¹⁷ The Barbados planters wanted no Jamaican competition for their sugar and sided with Willoughby over emigration. The Barbados Adventurers had to ask Albemarle to apply pressure to Willoughby and other governors to ensure that any restrictions to their venture were removed. Willoughby was worried by the rapidly changing ratio of whites to blacks which he believed created a threat to the internal security of the island.¹⁸ The large plantations were increasingly "owned by absentee proprietors and worked by negro slaves".¹⁹ Barbadian planters viewed Carolina in a different light to Willoughby. Its export potential would be complementary to the Barbadian economy and the acquisition of new land so long restricted in Barbados encouraged their support of exploration as a Barbadian venture.

On 8 September 1663 the Proprietors made their first land grant. Significantly, it was to Sir John Colleton, and recognised his leading role in establishing the Proprietary. He was assigned Carlyle Island, renamed

predominant in the organisation of a settlement from Barbados. *Colonial Period*, pp. 183, 193, 195 and CSC, p.4.

¹⁶Willoughby to de Laubiere, 23 September 1663, PRO Kew, CO 1/17, No. 79.

¹⁷Resourcing from Barbados was "taking out of his right hand to put into his left". CSC, 1661-8, p. 217, No. 764.

¹⁸*Barbados*, p. 153.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

Colleton, on the north side of the entrance to Albemarle Sound and at the boundary with Virginia. The grant was for ten square miles at a yearly rental of $1/2$ d per acre. Sir John offered to share it with William Berkeley.²⁰ On the following day the Proprietors sent Modyford and Peter Colleton a reply to their joint letter of 12 August in which they had made "demands and proposealls".²¹ They took pleasure in the support Barbadians were prepared to lend the discovery of suitable plantations between Cape Fear and the southern limit of the grant. Before they had been advised of Barbadian intentions they commissioned Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia, to send a vessel to explore the coast from Cape Hatteras (on the 36° N latitude sixty miles south of Albemarle Sound settlements near the Virginia border) southwards to Cape Florida. This was far south of the 31° N Southern boundary of Carolina specified in the charter.²²

A quorum of Proprietors agreed unanimously the method of choosing governors, the form of government and land grants. They would not consider alterations. A governor and his council would serve during the pleasure of the people in general, and not continue in office at the pleasure of their "owne fellowes" with a review every three years. Governors and councillors would be subject to Proprietary approval. If more than six councillors were desired, double the number required would be nominated and the Proprietors would choose half. The Governor and Council were empowered to grant land in accordance with the "method" advised for which the owners had to contract and compound

²⁰The now corruptly spelt Collington (previously Carlyle or Carlisle) Island, lies on the north side of Roanoake Inlet, opposite Roanoake Island where the crews of Raleigh ships had wintered a century earlier. CSPC., 1661-8, No. 558.

²¹The time taken for the Proprietors letter to reach Modyford was just 33 days for a distance of 5,000 miles, a daily run of 150 miles averaging 6 knots. The record run westbound during the 17C was an incredible three weeks. *English Atlantic*, p. 26. The Proprietor's letter is referenced CSCHS, pp. 16-18.

²²Possibly Robert Horne's reconnaissance, whose report was published in London in 1666. These limits were much wider than they had sent to Berkeley, i.e., not further south than the Cape Fear area. *Early Carolina*, pp. 67-71; CSPC, 1661-68, No. 557.

with the Indians.²³ With the exception of the secretary and surveyors, the Governor and Council would choose all officers, military and civil. The Governors of the Caribbean Islands would be required not to hinder any "free" emigrants. Finally, Thomas Modyford and Peter Colleton were given "power and direction to treat and agree with you (the Adventurers) concerning the premises (conditions), not receding from the substance of our Declaration *whose agreement we shall ratifie.*"²⁴

The Proprietors in London applied a check to the ambitions of the Barbadians for the autonomy of their proposed "corporation" territory. They made it clear they did not intend to have a devolved form of government by Barbadians within the Proprietary colony or any pre-emption of their charter rights. The Barbadians had forced the pace. Modyford and Colleton were given a form of power of attorney as representatives of Proprietary authority and the Proprietors introduced the name of Thomas Colleton as another of their officers. If the Barbados Adventurers had been successful in their attempt to secure independent local government for the first established settlement it would have negated an original objective of the Proprietors for Carolina to become a cheap investment with a high return. It would have involved the disposal of 1,000 square miles of their property and established a precedent at the first attempt to reach satisfactory constitutional terms. It would seem from their insistent and detailed letter of 12 August 1663 that the Adventurers felt an independent settlement in Carolina was theirs as of right. The weight of evidence is that the Carolina charter initiative was Sir John Colleton's, or at least Barbadian, in concept. If this was so, the Barbadians would not have accepted a subservient role in claiming territory. Peter may have anticipated his father's support for the Barbadian proposals. The terms of both the Charter and the Proprietors' conditions of settlement would have been as favourable to Barbadians as Sir John could achieve. The question remains whether Peter would have

²³The "method" was probably enclosed.

²⁴This gave delegated authority to Modyford and Peter Colleton and emphasised, once again, the extent of their discretionary powers. CSPC, 1661-68, No. 557.

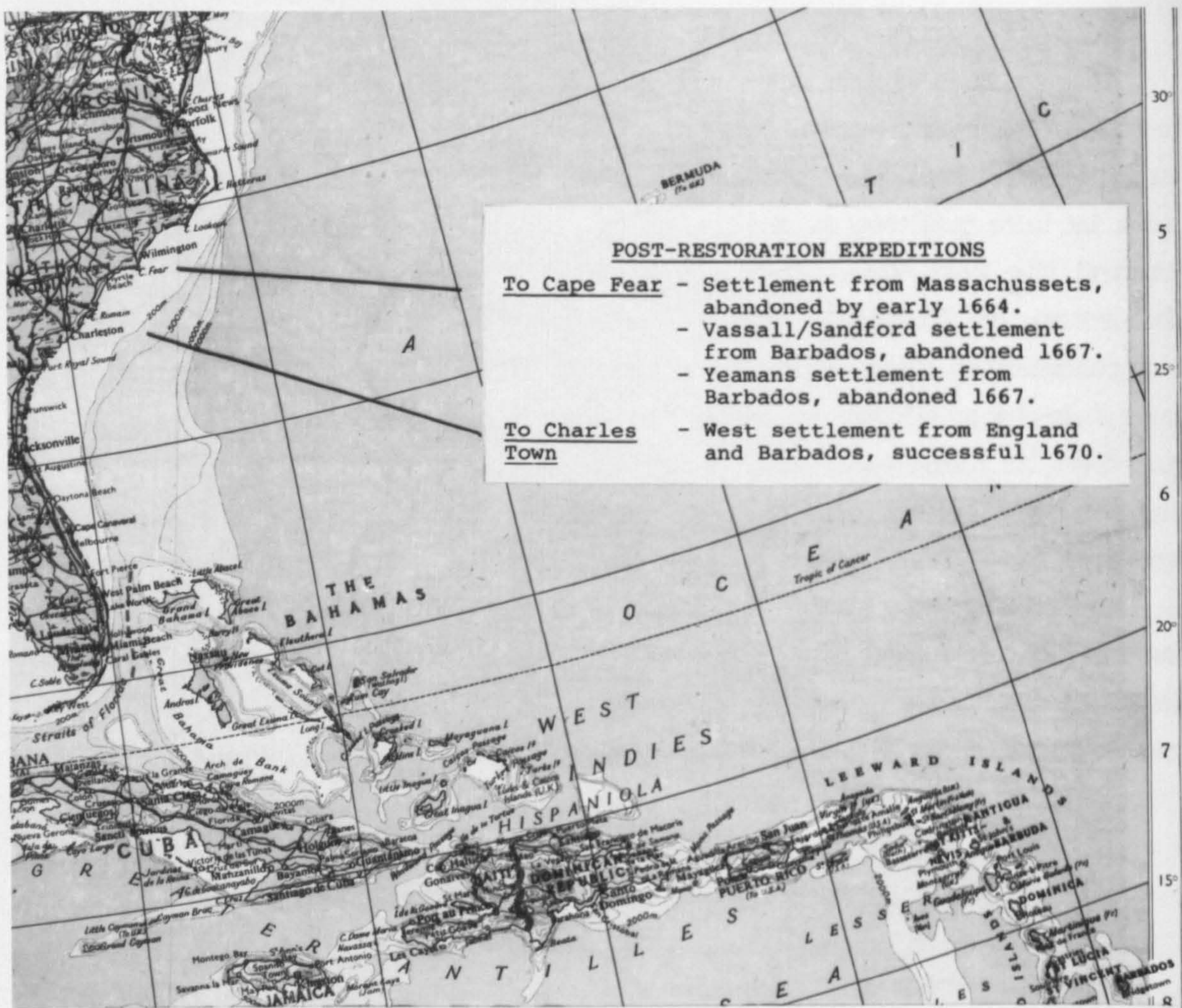
made demands for significant concessions by the Proprietary which he had not previously discussed and agreed with his father. In any event the Barbadian rush to an independent status within Carolina was checked.

Unknown to Hilton, his second reconnaissance had taken on a new meaning. Since his departure from Speights Bay, Barbados, Modyford and Peter Colleton had been given Proprietary authority which would enable them to take positive action on the results of the exploration. Hilton reached the Port Royal area, sixty-five miles south west of the future Charleston, on 26 August 1663.²⁵ He explored the complex of waterways and commented favourably on crops and climate.²⁶ Altering course for Cape Fear, he was blown north to Cape Hatteras by a violent storm.²⁷ After nine days he managed to beat south to Cape Fear, where he rode out the storm for a further twelve days in the river mouth. His later account of the Cape Fear river system was complimentary, but his report expressed no written preference between Cape Fear and Port Royal. Communications with the Indians were difficult but at Cape Fear Hilton identified English cattle and found again the disparaging note which he now attributed to the earlier Massachusetts expedition. His report

²⁵The journey from Barbados to Port Royal took only fourteen days on this occasion.

²⁶"The Indians plant in the worst land, because they cannot cut down timber in the best, and yet have plenty of Corn, Pumpions, Water-Mellons, Musk Mellons ... they have two or three crops of corn a year.... The ayre is clear and sweet, the country very pleasant and delightful: And we could wish, that all they that want a happy settlement, of our English Nation, were well transported thither....The woods (were) stored with (an) abundance of Deer and Turkies everywhere ... but saw of each also Partridges great store, Cranes abundance, conies which we saw in several places; we heard several wolves howling and in the woods ... great store of Ducks, Teile, Widgeon and in the woods great flocks of Parrakeetos ... oaks of four or five sorts ... in bigness some ... almost four fathoms." (twenty four feet in circumference). This was the very area in which Sir John Colleton III was to acquire Devils Elbow Barony in 1718. CSCHS, p. 18 et seq.

²⁷This is not surprising during the hurricane season and is a measure of the Adventurers impatience. In late 1665 a similar storm blew Yeamans north to Cape Fear and was blamed for his failure to comply with the Proprietors' instructions to settle further south. See Chapter 5.



Source

Times Atlas of the World, Comprehensive Edition, 7th Edition, (London, 1985). Plate 102, United States of America: 1:12.5m. Reproduced by permission of John Bartholomew & Son Ltd, Edinburgh.

endorsed the suitability of the land to accommodate "thousands of our English nation".²⁸

The Modyford/Colleton proposals to attract the first settlers were issued with a copy of Hilton's report and published in 1664. The terms applied to settlers "on Rivers, Harbours or Creeks whose Mouth or Entrance is *Southwards or Westwards of Cape St Romana*" (Cape Carteret) and, significantly, not north east at Cape Fear.²⁹ What factors affected their choice remain uncertain. As Hilton's account was published in London it is virtually certain to have had the support of the Proprietors and they must have ordered its publication. The first item of the proposals defined the authority of the Barbadian leadership:

Imprimis, It is agreed and consented to by us Thomas Modyford, and Peter Colleton, Esquires, who are empowered by the Lords Proprietors to treat on their behalf ...³⁰

Land was granted according to the method decided by the Governor and Council.³¹ Under the Proprietors' authority settlers were granted the choice of an Assembly and to make laws which would be subject to Proprietary approval. They were promised, with provisos as expressed in the Charter, liberty of conscience, freedom of trade and immunity from customs, for a limited period.³² These last two freedoms would have been especially attractive to Barbadians who then enjoyed no relaxation of the Navigation Acts. It was not until January 1665 that the Barbados Concessions were finally agreed with the Proprietary and were to apply to all of the current or proposed areas of settlement in Carolina.

²⁸*Ibid.*, to the Proprietors from R. Evans and J. Vassall before 30 August 1663.

²⁹*Early Carolina*, pp. 35, 57-61.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 57.

³¹e.g., only a fifth part of the depth of land grants would abut navigable river water.

³²For trading terms see items 8th and 9th in the Charter of Carolina in W. K. Kavenagh, *Foundation of Colonial America: A Documentary History*, 3 Vols, (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1973) III, pp. 1742, 1743.

The Proprietors, possibly advised by the Adventurers, made what transpired to be the best choice of area in the brief they sent to John Yeamans in Barbados on 11 January 1664. The Yeamans family had three plantations in Barbados, two in St Andrew's and one in St Peter's close to the Colleton's Leeward Plantation and the nineteenth century Colleton House. Yeamans was to lead the first "official" expedition to be backed by the main group of Barbadian Adventurers. They gave their firm views that Port Royal should be the destination several weeks before they could have read Hilton's unbiased first account. It took several years to prove the soundness of the Proprietors' choice. Meanwhile the "independent" Vassall expedition set off from Barbados to Cape Fear. There is no evidence of any arrangements being made for it by Modyford or Peter Colleton but correspondence between the expedition leaders and the Proprietary, by-passing the Adventurers, is documented.³³ This expedition would have been due to sail about the time Yeamans received his brief.³⁴ A landing by the "independents" was made at Cape Fear on 29 May 1664 where John Vassall was later joined by Colonel Robert Sandford.³⁵ The proposals which were approved for their use were briefer than the Modyford/Colleton proposals published with the Hilton narrative.³⁶ The Proprietors appointed Vassall as Surveyor and Sandford as Secretary of Clarendon County at Cape Fear, in November 1664.³⁷ John Yeamans may have given some early assistance to Vassall in Barbados. Perhaps this gave him some sense of responsibility and concern for the embryo colony which he later joined by mischance. Few details exist of the Vassall expedition from its preparation until it was supplemented by Yeamans at the end of 1665. Reflective letters were later received by Sir John Colleton and the Proprietary from the cousins John and Henry

³³Letter to the Proprietors from R. Evans and J. Vassall before 30 August 1663, CSCHS, p. 13.

³⁴Letter from the Proprietors of 11 January 1664, CSCHS, pp. 50-1.

³⁵Sandford probably joined several months later. He dined with the Proprietors in London on 22 August 1664. *Colonial Period*, pp. 189n, 199n, Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina*, p. 10.

³⁶*Early Carolina*, p. 66.

³⁷CSPC, 1661-68, Nos. 849, 860.

Vassall, the latter as the London Agent for the Adventurers to Cape Fear Colony.

The Barbados Adventurers issued detailed proposals for the Yeamans expedition to be agreed and co-ordinated between the island and Whitehall. The Proprietors clearly intended its destination to be the area south of Cape Romana, in the Port Royal vicinity. Articles of agreement were drawn up by the Proprietary with Major William Yeamans, Sir John's son, and issued on 7 January 1665.³⁸ Yeamans provided a list of nearly ninety prospective Barbadian principals, including some distinguished citizens. He covenanted to provide shipping and ordnance for those who could not afford the passage. In the event a 150-ton fly-boat and a frigate were supplied. A sloop of three tons was bought from the Proprietors' common purse.³⁹ The Proprietary issued as an accompanying document to their instruction, the "Barbados Concessions", the latest and final terms of settlement which they had agreed with Peter Colleton and the Adventurers.⁴⁰ "The Concessions were designed for the use of John Yeamans who, through the influence of Peter Colleton, was now ordered to go from Barbados as Governor of the new county...".⁴¹ The purchase price for land in any settlement was to be 1,000 lbs of sugar for 500 acres taken up in five years at a rent of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per square acre per annum.⁴² The first settlers with Yeamans were to get an additional 150 acres. The Proprietary arranged to provide twelve coastal defence guns, with associated equipment and ammunition, before 1 February 1666.⁴³ Sir John Colleton was instructed to arrange their delivery to Barbados for re-shipment. This would not have been an entirely simple matter during the

³⁸*Ibid.*, No. 904.

³⁹Its first officer Henry Brayne later commanded the Proprietor's ship *Carolina* from 1669 to 1671 during Joseph West's successful expedition.

⁴⁰These described in full the method of government, powers of Assembly, law courts, officers to be appointed, land titles, layout and planting. CSPC, 1661-68, No. 904.

⁴¹*Colonial Period*, p. 197.

⁴²1,000 lbs of sugar was worth about £8 at 1665 values.

⁴³CSPC, 1661-68, No. 904.

second Dutch war. Coastal defence guns were in demand at home to protect the southern ports. They were intended to arrive as soon as possible after the extension of the Carolina boundaries. These were altered by the revised Charter of 30 June 1665 to incorporate the Albemarle settlements into northern Carolina, a minor adjustment, but much more provocative was a change to the southern boundary. The 1665 Charter annexed part of Florida south of the Altamaha River and threatened the Spanish at Fort Augustine. While this would give more room for development south of Port Royal, it made defensive measures necessary in case of retaliation. Sir John provided the guns earlier than had been agreed and they arrived in Barbados in time to travel with Yeaman's ships in October 1665.

Delays in mounting the expedition caused the Proprietors anxiety and they demonstrated to Yeamans concern about leadership and direction.

Sir, haveing receaved a very good carrector of your abillityes and Inteagryty and of your loyalty to the King from Sir John Colleton, with an assurance that you will viggorously attempt the settling of a collony or plantation to the southward of Cape Romania ... wee have in the first place prevaled with his Majestie to conferr the honour of a Knight Barronet upon you ... to whom we have given assurance that you will deserve the same.⁴⁴

To require some reassurance of Yeamans determination was evidence of doubt in the minds of Sir John's colleagues. Later, Governor William Willoughby expressed a forceful view of Yeamans' failings and his behaviour incensed Ashley. The Colleton's support for him has some flavour of a debt repaid.⁴⁵ In the same letter Yeamans was appointed a Lieutenant General and Governor of that specifically limited part of Carolina. A raid by the Dutch in April, the presence of their hostile fleet in the Caribbean and the onset of the hurricane season gave Yeamans excuses for further postponement.

⁴⁴CSCHS, p. 50 and CSPC, 1661-68, No. 912.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 1661-68, No. 1520.

It was not until October 1665 that Yeamans and his party of one hundred and fifty finally left Barbados.⁴⁶ A violent storm drove them northwards from their correct destination of Port Royal to Cape Fear where they arrived at the end of 1665. They joined the remnants of Vassall's May 1664 expedition. Yeamans lost most of his equipment and arms during the storm. The guns provided by John Colleton for Port Royal were lost overboard at the entrance to the Charles River. Yeamans made enough difficulties after his arrival at Vassall's settlement for them to welcome his departure. He left the newly named Charles Town for Barbados in January 1666, deserting his compatriots.⁴⁷ To give him the benefit of the doubt he may have felt it his duty to make a new effort to settle in the area designated by the Proprietary. It still took him another four years to do so in equally reprehensible circumstances. At least, on his return to Barbados he despatched a vessel to Cape Fear with additional men and provisions to bolster the isolated and demoralised community. It also had great difficulty in making its destination. After weeks of stormy weather the Captain went berserk and jumped overboard. In June 1666, under instructions from the Proprietors, Colonel Sandford made an exploration of the Port Royal area from Cape Fear in the Proprietor's three ton sloop. He confirmed its suitability for settlement, making claim to the land in the name of the Crown. At the same time Sandford left ashore Henry Woodward, surgeon and countryman, to remain with the Indians and learn their language until he could return.⁴⁸ Sandford made the first report on Ashley River.

(The river) shewes with a very faire large opening clear of any flatts or barreing in the entrance ... I persuaide myself it leads into an excellent Country, both for the commendacon the Indian give itt and from what I saw ... in the hopes that it may prove worthy of the Dignity I called it the River Ashley and to take away every little remaine of forraigne title to this

⁴⁶He was unlikely to have sailed laden between August and October. See *English Atlantic*, p.25.

⁴⁷See Henry Vassall's letter of August 1666, SP, f. 10. This Charles Town was not the later Charles Town on Ashley River.

⁴⁸As a result Woodward became a successful Indian trader and expert in their customs. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings*, p. 12, CSPC, 1661-68, No. 1005.

Province I blotted out the name of St Romane ... and writt
Cape Cartrett in the roome ...⁴⁹

These two attempts ended the Barbadian efforts at initiating expeditions. How much of their misfortune was due to bad luck, bad weather, bad management, or perhaps some perversity in Yeamans' case is now impossible to determine. Additionally, the chronology of events has been confused by some inaccurate accounts and analyses. The Hilton report, no doubt edited for publicity purposes, is said to have induced settlers to the southern part of Carolina a few years later.⁵⁰ There was no alternative choice after 1667 when news of the abandonment of Cape Fear reached England. Yeamans' unpopularity with the Cape Fear colony was almost inevitable. Unexpectedly it had to receive an unwanted Governor who enjoyed the use of authority. He had arrived at the wrong destination where he exercised a questionable writ, and the variations in land grant conditions which applied to the two parties on the same site created a poor precedent. The resentments of Cape Fear showed that the imposition of changed settlement conditions, which later governors were not even prepared to enforce, was almost impossible.⁵¹

In August 1666, reporting to Sir John as Steward, the Cape Fear agent Henry Vassall voiced the complaints of the unhappy remainder. They were dissatisfied with the Proprietors' terms and forsaken by their friends in Barbados who had sent them.

The Adventurers and present planters (are) highly dissatisfied that they should not have these concessions at least which were tendered, and upon which they went, confirmed unto them; they thought those concessions hard enough, but those other (Sir John Yeamans' 'spesious pretences') intolerable.⁵²

⁴⁹Extract from Salley's reprint of Sandford's good report. Sandford wisely obtained a corroborative statement from his companions who agreed that "with a moderate support in their Infant tendency, would in a very short time improve themselves to a perfect Common Wealth ...". *Early Carolina*, pp. 106-108.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p.35.

⁵¹CSC, pp. 17,18.

⁵²SP, f. 10.

Vassall asked for a meeting in England with as many Proprietors as possible and warned that the planters were waiting upon the outcome before evacuating Cape Fear. John Vassall wrote to Sir John from Virginia on 6 October 1667 in similar vein.⁵³ For want of £200 for another year's clothing and due to harsh Proprietary terms he had been unable to prevent desertion by the "Rable of Inhabitants" to Virginia, Albemarle and Barbados.⁵⁴ This was hardly surprising in the case of leaderless Yeamans settlers who wished to move to a more fertile place.

During the preparations for the Yeamans expedition Peter Colleton also had commercial and civic responsibilities in Barbados. In 1664 he was appointed to the Council. One of his first recorded attendances was on 28/29 March of that year when Modyford was also present.⁵⁵ Although Modyford had already been created a baronet and appointed Governor of Jamaica, he had remained in Barbados to fulfil the King's instruction to raise a substantial number of settlers to accompany him. He and Colleton, as senior member and factor in Barbados of the Royal Adventurers in Africa, were taken to task by the company for failing to arrange a profitable return cargo for a homebound slave ship. They blamed others on the island for their lack of cooperation and for failing to pay bills due to the company.⁵⁶ This attitude was symptomatic of the reluctance of planters to pay the price demanded for slaves when no legal competitive source of supply existed. This resulted in huge debts accruing to the monopoly company, its bankruptcy and replacement in 1672 by the newly constituted Royal African Company. The slave trade caused other problems for Modyford and Colleton. At the end of March 1664 they advised that they had been unable to sell two hundred negroes now on their hands and proposed to sell them, and one hundred more, to St Nevis and St Kitts. Recently there had been high mortality as a result of

⁵³Sir John was already dead.

⁵⁴CSPC, 1661-68, No. 1661.

⁵⁵Not 1666 as recorded by Langdon Cheves and 'Barbados' is incorrectly named for 'Jamaica'. See CSCHS, p. 12n; CSCP 1661-68, No. 692.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, No 689.

suspected malignant distemper, caused by overcrowding the sick negroes on the incoming ship, and smallpox.⁵⁷

Thomas Colleton, Peter's brother, also became involved in an example of the practical effect of the state monopoly. He appeared in a case for the Crown to restrain Nathaniel Kingsland, the owner of the *William and Susan*, from taking legal action against Captain Pepperell of the *Charles*.⁵⁸ The Captain had seized Kingsland's ship for illegal trading in slaves on the African coast and for contravening the Royal Company's monopoly. The ability of private traders to undercut the monopoly prices and make a profit contributed to Peter Colleton's difficulties in collecting the company's debts.

The affairs of the Proprietary and commerce were demanding enough without an external threat to the security of the community. On 20 April 1665 de Ruyter had attacked St Michael's Town, (later Bridgetown) Barbados, with fourteen ships. The counter-bombardment severely depleted the island's reserves of ammunition. In May the Barbados Council appealed to Sir John Colleton and Sir Paul Poynter in London to assist them in replacing the now almost non-existent firearms and powder for the defence of the island. They consigned forty butts of sugar to Sir John in payment. The Committee for Foreign Plantations also asked Sir John to obtain six guns to bolster the coastal defences at Carlisle Bay, Barbados, which he quickly provided.⁵⁹ Willoughby was in Surinam recovering from a would-be assassin's wound. He returned to Barbados to raise funds for military supplies and powder for Colleton's new guns which the King refused to meet from his 4 1/2% remittance. The Assembly had anticipated that the Crown would accept the expense within public service costs. They ignored Willoughby's request for money and demanded approval of a Petition of Rights. Opposed by the planters in

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, No. 693.

⁵⁸Later Kingsland was nominated, unsuccessfully, to be Governor of South Carolina. *Ibid.*, No. 1055.

⁵⁹The total cost was £205.19.11. He was thanked by the Speaker of Barbados for their safe delivery. CSPC, 1661-68, Nos. 955, 1121.

Barbados and enemies in England, Willoughby received permission to return home to defend his policies. He appointed his nephews Henry and William and Sir John Yeamans, as Joint Governors during his absence.

To his relief Willoughby received funds from the Assembly as a patriotic response to a new war with France. In January 1666, before leaving for England to press his case with the King, he set out to seize Dutch Tobago but was pre-empted by Jamaican buccaneers. He changed direction to defend the Leeward Islands but St Christopher had already fallen. On 18 July, responding to an order from the King to retake it, he raised a further loan from Assembly and sailed for the island. The small force was struck by a hurricane and Willoughby then aged 53, was never seen again. One of his last acts was an appeal to the King for the suspension of the Navigation Act to save Barbados from starvation. The news that Willoughby was missing reached Sir John Colleton's ears shortly before his own death. His last communication from the Council of Barbados was a request by the Council of Barbados for advice on succession in the event that Willoughby had perished. Sir John proposed to Lord Ashley that Barbados should continue to be governed meanwhile by Willoughby's nephews, William and Henry, with the addition of two planter representatives.⁶⁰ They were commissioned on this basis on 5 December 1666 and proved to be a discordant quartet.

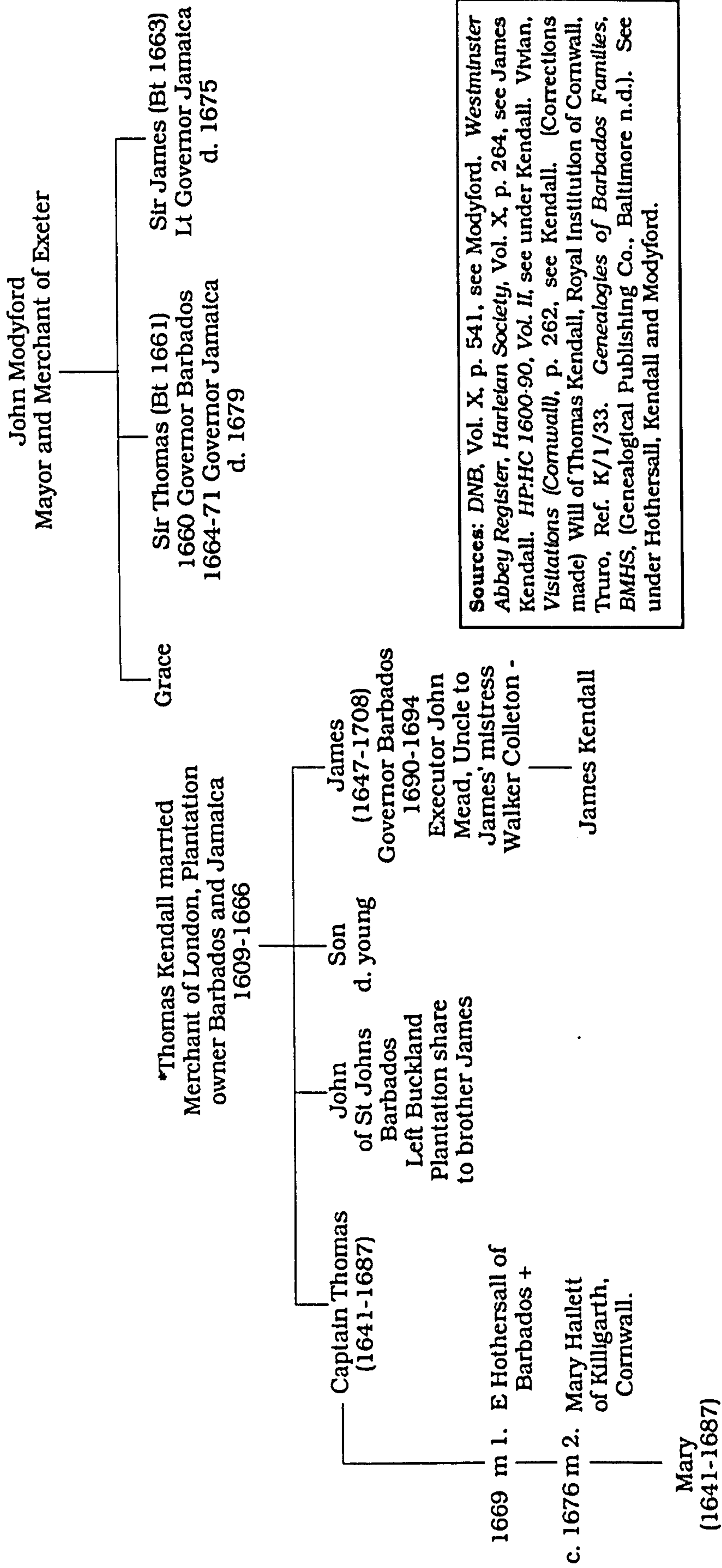
On September 1665, although only 57, Sir John drew up a complicated and lengthy Deed of Settlement for his property in Barbados. His son James' copy, signed by Sir John, has survived. The settlement was a means of transferring ownership of the plantations which protected both property and beneficiaries. Governor William Willoughby, brother and successor to Frances, suspected that Colleton might have been "crafty" enough to have anticipated a need to indemnify his property against forfeiture.⁶¹ Its provisions were soon tested. This early form of trust deed, which is a model of its kind, was distinct from Sir John's will of 23

⁶⁰*Barbados*, p. 173.

⁶¹CSPC, 1661-8, No. 1841.

Table 4

Kendalls and Modyfords



Sources: DNB, Vol. X, p. 541, see Modyford. Westminster Abbey Register, Harleian Society, Vol. X, p. 264, see James Kendall. HP:HC 1600-90, Vol. II, see under Kendall. Vivian, Visitations (Cornwall), p. 262, see Kendall. (Corrections made) Will of Thomas Kendall, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro, Ref. K/1/33. Genealogies of Barbados Families, BMHS, (Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore n.d.). See under Hothersall, Kendall and Modyford.

*Trustee, Sir John Colleton's Deed of Settlement 1665

+ No children recorded by Vivian

April 1666 which took care of other bequests.⁶² Like his predecessors he faithfully included the poor of Exeter. He died at St Martin-in-the-Fields in 1667.⁶³ His old friend Thomas Kendall of Chiswick and Tywardreath in Cornwall predeceased him and died during Christmas 1666. He had bought half shares in plantations in both Barbados and Jamaica.⁶⁴ Together they had exercised considerable influence in political and commercial affairs in the Caribbean strengthened by their West Country affinities.

It took some years before the impetus behind settlement was restored. The vacuum was a measure of Sir John's own enthusiasm and participation in the venture. Albemarle, Ashley and Peter Colleton formed a new caucus within the Proprietary but it took three years to regain momentum. It must have been a considerable disappointment to Sir John that a secure foothold had still not been achieved on the central and southern Carolina coastline during his life time. He was fortunate in having an ambitious and capable heir who was already heavily committed

⁶²The deed was between Sir John and his wife (Jaine) Katherine, his trustees Thomas Kendall of Chiswick (his merchant colleague of London and Barbados), Jonathan Andrews, merchant of London and his brother-in-law Richard Downes of Stockwell in Surrey. The beneficiaries were his four sons; his wife being provided for by his will.

⁶³On 5 January 1667 (new calendar) Sir John addressed a letter to Ambrose Mudd of Dartmouth concerning an application to the Duke of York, for a pass and protection for his ship. If this latter date is correct, it is certain that the date of death, so frequently cited as 1666, was late 1666 by the old calendar, between 1 January and 30 March 1667 new calendar.

Sir John stood, unsuccessfully, as Member of Parliament for Dartmouth shortly before his death. CSPC, 1661-8, No. 1376; HP:HC, 1660-90, Vol II, p. 106, entry for Peter Colleton.

⁶⁴Thomas Kendall was not a "grocer", as he is described by Gary A Puckrein. Surprisingly, Puckrein makes no mention of Sir John Colleton. There is one reference to Sir Peter in a note. *Little England: Plantation Society and Anglo-Barbadian Politics, 1627-1700*, (New York: NY University Press, 1984), p.65.

Thomas Kendall's will shows that he left his share of the Buckland plantation in Barbados and plantations in Jamaica to his three surviving sons. James the youngest, and future Governor of Barbados also inherited his brother John's share in 1684. He renamed the Barbados plantation Kendall. Copies of Thomas Kendall senior's will of 7 July 1665 and his son John's of 8 November 1684 are in the Muniment Room of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, River Street, Truro (Refs. K/1/33 and K/1/36).

to the project and who followed him as High Steward in 1669. It had by now cost each Proprietor an investment of only £75 and a total of £600 had been spent in the first three years of the Proprietary. An overland settlement at Albemarle Sound had taken root on the northern border but the Cape Fear settlements established from Barbados had been finally abandoned.

The Second Dutch War had stopped all migration from Barbados. The French and Dutch had captured a number of the Caribbean islands and now threatened lines of communication. In 1667 mainland Surinam fell to the Dutch. When the war ended that year the debt caused by financing military expeditions gave the planters further reason for leaving Barbados. London also had its own problems to contend with. The plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of London on 2 September 1666 distracted and added to the domestic responsibilities of most of the Proprietors.

The death of Sir John Colleton in 1667, one of the leading figures of the Proprietary, the promotion of Modyford from Barbados to Jamaica in 1664 and the delayed move of Peter Colleton to London in 1668 all reduced the effectiveness of Proprietary leadership in the Caribbean. It is hardly surprising that until Lord Ashley and John Locke could plan a new concept, no positive reinforcement of colonising effort took place. Changes to the Proprietor's roles had to follow Sir John's death. Ashley took over the responsibility for the control and planning aspects of settlement but especially the formulation of a new constitution. John Locke had entered his household in 1666. With his help as Secretary, Ashley injected a new enthusiasm and sense of urgency into affairs. In a mid-1667 communication to the tenuous colony at Cape Fear, the Proprietors encouraged John Vassall's "Rable of Inhabitants" to hold on. Before their letter could arrive the settlement had been deserted. It was time for a new start but for two years there was no Englishman on Carolina soil south of Albemarle Sound and no organisation in Barbados strong enough to put one there. It took two years before Sir Peter and Ashley were able to demonstrate their ability to succeed.

In spite of his father's death in early 1667 Peter Colleton did not move to London on a permanent basis until the following year. His youngest brother James, then eighteen, may have remained in England,

having graduated at Magdalen, Oxford, in October 1666 and enrolled as a Barrister in the same year. He performed no special role in Barbados and was not elected a Vestryman of St John's "with his other brothers" until 1673.⁶⁵ By his father's deed of settlement Peter inherited all the income of the Barbados plantations for twenty-one years, after specified payments, and then half of the property. He also inherited his father's baronetcy, his Lord Proprietorship and £1,800 of membership stock in the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa. Under the settlement, his brother Thomas would have managed the plantations at the time of Sir John's death, with John to follow at Christmas 1667. These dates would have put John into a position of responsibility at the time of the West expedition of 1669. His future conduct would indicate that he may have been irresponsible. However, due to his early death, and perhaps fortuitously for the expedition, Thomas had to resume management of the Colleton Estate in 1668. He was available to renew the services of commissariat and shipping agent as he had performed for the October 1665 Yeamans venture at an important juncture.

In Barbados it was now assumed that Governor Francis Willoughby had drowned in his attempt on St Kitts. His brother William inherited the barony and the Governorship. The King appointed him Governor-in Chief of the Caribees for the last three years of his brother's lease. As a paid servant of the Crown he would have no share of the proprietary revenue. A shrewd, conciliatory and practical man, he awarded offices to the opposition in order to secure an accommodation. Military reinforcements of six infantry companies arrived with him on 23 April 1667 in time to forestall a return to the revolts of the 1650s.⁶⁶ He quickly organised an attempt in June to restore fortunes in the Leewards. This included a strong but unsuccessful attack on St Kitts, where his brother had drowned, led by his son Henry.

⁶⁵As John their brother was then dead Sir Peter, Thomas and James remained. *Sugar and Slaves*, p.115n.

⁶⁶ *Barbados*, p. 180.

In July 1667 Willoughby sent cynical comments about the contribution of the Colletons to Joseph Williamson, Secretary to Lord Arlington.⁶⁷ His strong private views are as revealing of his own character as of others. Yeamans, then in Barbados after his desertion of Cape Fear, was another object of his scorn:

Never was a man so out in his judgement as Sir John Colleton, who named Sir John Yeamans to exceed all men for interest in this island.

Assuming Colleton's recommendation to be valid, Willoughby had appointed Yeamans a judge. The Assembly then made allegations against Yeamans which he was not willing to defend although the Governor had offered to stand by him.⁶⁸ Again, on 17 September, the Governor wrote to Williamson and blamed Sir John Colleton for the state of the island on his arrival, no less than seven years after Sir John's final departure home.⁶⁹ He gave his view of Sir Peter;

I hope ere long to reconcile all in person and leave this island in a much better posture than I found it to which Sir John Colliton's (sic) fine tricks had brought it.

His son and your Guinea factor (Peter Colleton) here, will if he lives be old Sir John. Of that more hereafter but of that and the rest of the affaire now I would not enlarge.

Shortly after September 1667 the "Guinea factor" sailed to London to take up his position as the youngest Lord Proprietor by many years at the age of thirty-three.⁷⁰ He was first mailed at "St James's Street, near Clarendon House", an address he is likely to have inherited from his father. He lived later in Golden Square, three quarters of a mile north-west of Ashley's house in the Strand.

⁶⁷CSPC, 1661-8, No. 1520.

⁶⁸The reasons for these allegations are clear from a later letter of Willoughby's of 22 July 1668 in his usual style accusing Yeamans of being seditious prior to his arrival and for hiring a witness to take away a man's life "for no other reason that he had a mind to the other gentleman's wife". CSPC, 1661-68, No. 1806.

⁶⁹PRO, CO1/21, f. 110, and CSPC, 1661-68, No. 1580.

⁷⁰Peter Colleton was in Barbados 17 September 1667, but in London by 22 July 1668. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1580, 1804.

In October 1667 Willoughby recaptured Surinam. To his chagrin he had to return it to the Dutch under the terms of the Treaty of Breda, but not before it had been laid waste. His brother had spent a large part of his fortune settling it. The cost of the recent attempted relief of the Leewards and the rearming of Barbados had placed a financial burden on an island depleted by colonial ventures. Emigration from England and the import of slaves had temporarily ceased during the war. Economic conditions were ripe for a resumption of planter emigration. To add to internal difficulties, most of St Michael's Town (Bridge Town) was destroyed by fire in April 1668 after the explosion of the public magazine during Willoughby's absence in Antigua. The Barbados merchants in London appealed for relief. The old factions reappeared, the Assembly became intent on achieving self-rule and the exchequer refused money for the Crown. The planters demanded the recall of Willoughby, a lump sum redemption of the 4 1/2% levy and the grant of independence under a Corporation charter.⁷¹ After only one year as Governor, Willoughby felt sufficiently unsure of himself to send one of his sons and Colonel Drax to advise the King of his actions. This deputation was intended to compensate for the activities of his influential opponents in London. He wrote to Williamson on 22 July 1668 to complain of the activities of a group of Barbadians corresponding with Sir Peter in London, "a chip off the old block". He wrote to the King on 11 August that "inconsiderable factious" people in Barbados were countenanced at home by Sir Peter and others.⁷² The same month the King agreed to Willoughby's return, like his brother Francis, to face his accusers.

A dramatic event now occurred in the Colleton family. Young John Colleton, brother of Sir Peter, killed one of Sir John Yeamans' sons in a duel. Willoughby lost no time in reporting the event to London.

This serves only to give your Lordships an account that the son of Sir John Colliton (sic) did - last week kill a son of Sir

⁷¹Barbados, p. 196.

⁷²It is surprising after the documented animosities that Willoughby became reconciled with Sir Peter, appointed him his Deputy in 1673 and named him "friend". CSPC, 1661-68, Nos. 1804, 1820.

John Yeamans in a duell, they had as I am informed both had swords drawn, but Colliton by flying hath contracted more guilt than otherwise he might. I presume it will amount to a forfeiture of his estate and unless his crafty father hath well provided for such accidents. I am informed this brother hath a third part of it, it being equally divided among the three brothers and the country generally already say that estates so gotten ought in Justice return to the King. I thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordships. His brother Sir Peter might by now in his usual way (have) surprised his Majesty or your Lordships.⁷³

This son of Sir John Yeamans may have been Edward.⁷⁴ The Yeamans had a plantation neighbouring Colleton Leeward. At that time John Colleton was doing his stipulated period of duty under his father's settlement as Colleton plantation manager. He was then aged 27. There is no mention of his subsequent arrest but as administration of his estate was first granted in December 1668 to his brother James, John in turn must have come to an untimely end between the first week of September 1668 and December of that year.⁷⁵ His "crafty father" had indeed provided adequate protection against such an accident, or sequestration, by securing the plantations in trust. The terms gave no ownership to Sir Peter's younger brothers until 1687 when John would have been entitled to a one-sixth interest, not a third as Willoughby had been informed. The reason for the duel and the cause of John's subsequent death are now unknown. Sir John Yeamans had reason to be grateful to Sir John Colleton for pressing the case for his preferment as Sir Peter did again later, perhaps stimulated by a feeling of corporate guilt. There is no surviving evidence of any related animosity. Although a complete outsider, Gilbert Talbot brother of Francis, 11th Earl of Shrewsbury, was quick to try to take advantage of potential sequestration and petitioned the Commissioners of

⁷³Willoughby to Lord Arlington, 15 September 1668, PRO CO 1/23, f. 54.

⁷⁴Edward Yeamans received his last mention in the State Papers in February 1667.

⁷⁵*Vistations*, p. 218.

the Treasury on 2 March 1669 for John's estate.⁷⁶ The fact that no surrender was ordered testifies to the strength of Sir John's trust arrangements.

Willoughby sailed to England in 1669 two and a half years after his arrival on the island leaving behind the unpopular Codrington as his Deputy. In June he petitioned the King to vindicate his son Henry from accusations against his behaviour at the unsuccessful battle for St Kitts. Witnesses from both parties were now in London. William St Barbe had been employed by Sir Peter to collect evidence against Lord Willoughby, to justify an allegation that he had failed to expend the levy and sugar contributions on war materials and pay. His son was said to have fled from the French at Guadeloupe and mismanaged the action in the Leeward Islands.⁷⁷ Willoughby and his accusers, including Sir Peter, were ordered to appear at a hearing on 7 July.⁷⁸ Willoughby's personal conduct was entirely vindicated and it was decided that any consideration of discipline against his son was to rest with the military authorities.

Despite surprisingly strenuous efforts by Willoughby, negotiations with the Crown over the future of the 4 1/2% levy were most unsatisfactory for Barbados. It was due to revert to the King in full, without public service deductions, at the end of Willoughby's lease.

⁷⁶In verifying the biography of Gilbert Talbot an unexpected coincidence came to light. Also in 1668 Sir Gilbert Talbot's brother Francis, the 11th Earl, was killed in a duel with the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, a favourite of Charles II, to whom Francis' wife was mistress. Gilbert Talbot may have had experience of pressing a claim for a sequestered estate on behalf of his nephew, a minor. See *Debretts* (1935) under Shrewsbury and CSPC, 1660-74, No. 26.

A letter from P F Campbell, Barbados, dated 30 August 1987, lists Kendall and Colleton burials in Barbados up to 1720. The only unspecified and unidentified burial of a John Colleton in the parish records of Barbados for the 17th century is at St John's Church in the year 1664.

As the records have been recopied, 1664 is very possibly a corruption of a 1668. A story of John's death in 1688 at St John's College, Oxford has become accepted probably due to an error by J. L. Vivian. Letters from Sir John Kendrew, President of St John's, of 2 March and 9 April 1987, for which I am grateful, refute this. Vivian may have mistaken an entry for John Colleton the Divine, who studied at St John's in the mid-16C. *Visitations*, Vol. 1, p. 218.

⁷⁷CSPC, 1669-74, No. 79.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, No. 80.

Without state contribution the full burden would fall on the planters. In April 1670 the Assembly refused to co-operate with Deputy Governor Codrington or advance any further sugar. During this period of ill-will the Proprietary of Carolina were planning for Barbados to receive, reinforce, and relay the first expedition from England to Carolina.

The continuing aggravations of royal control and the levy accentuated the stubborn character of the islanders who had become accustomed to greater liberality.⁷⁹ If they had found it impossible to change laws under the Commonwealth administration they ignored or circumvented them, especially the Navigation Acts. Due to remoteness, royalists had been able to bargain with their superficial loyalty for restitution of property at home and had little to lose. They were disappointed to find they also had little to gain in Barbados from the Crown. The possibility that the same attitudes, and the circumvention of authority, were transferred with the same community leaders on emigration to Carolina is a plausible one. There is plenty of evidence of similar traits in first generation settlers from the Caribbean to the Goose Creek district of Carolina. Most of the Barbadian planters in Carolina, like Yeamans, had experience of the struggle to obtain freedom from Proprietary rule. These tendencies may have been born of their resistance to authority in turbulent Barbados.⁸⁰

On 21 July 1669 John Locke and Lord Ashley produced their heavily revised, but as yet unapproved, Fundamental Constitutions for the regulation of a future Carolina Colony.⁸¹ Five days later the octogenarian William Sayle in far-off Bermuda, was appointed Governor of Carolina to the south and west of Cape Carteret.⁸² He was sent the Proprietors' instructions for the grant and apportionment of land. It was proposed, but not yet approved by the other Proprietors, that the colony should be made up of six counties, each containing 480,000 acres. Each of the eight Lord

⁷⁹See Harlow's views in *Barbados*, pp. 172, 173.

⁸⁰CSC, pp. 17, 18.

⁸¹CSPC, 1669-74, No. 84.

⁸²This seems to have been forgotten when Yeamans was sent a blank commission to fill in. Sayle had been Governor of Bermuda. *Ibid.*, No. 85.

Proprietors could own one 12,000-acre lot (a barony) in each county. A system of nobility would also absorb a further 96,000 acres in each county, 48,000 acres (four baronies) for allotment to a Landgrave and 48,000 acres (four baronies) for the allotment of 24,000 acres to each of two cassiques.⁸³ The total of reserved land for Proprietors and nobility would amount therefore to 192,000 acres in each county, with the remaining 288,000 acres reserved for the people. Land grants could be conveyed by grantees, but each freeholder had to pay the Proprietary 1d. per acre per year in rent, or "quitrent", in silver. The first payments would be due in 1689. The Proprietors undertook to contribute £500 each for arms and provisions and £200 each per annum for the next four years. The cost of provisioning three ships for the journey was £3,200. In July 1669 the Proprietors gave instructions to Joseph West who was to lead the attempt.⁸⁴ He was to sail from the Downs to Barbados in the *Carolina*, bought and fitted out by the Proprietors in England, the *Port Royal* and the *Albemarle*.⁸⁵ The Captain of the *Carolina*, Henry Brayne, had been Ensign in Colonel Sandford's vessel during the exploration from Cape Fear to Port Royal in 1666. The fleet was to call at Kinsale in Ireland to collect servants for the Proprietors. This proved counter-productive with a net loss of four crew. Rather prematurely West was also sent detailed planting instructions for the colony originated by Albemarle a few months before his death. West was to furnish himself with:

Cotton seed, Indigo seed, Ginger Roots, which roots you are to carry planted in a tubb of earth, that they may not dye before your arrival at Port Royall; also you may in another Tubb carry some Canes planted for a tryall - also of ye severall sorts of vines of that Island and some Ollive setts; all which

⁸³Five of the fifteen Baronies granted by the Proprietors in South Carolina and designated as 'Manors' were to be owned by Sir John Colleton's descendants. J. H. Easterby, ed., *Wadboo Barony: It's fate as told in the Colleton Family Papers, 1773-1793*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), p. vii.

⁸⁴CSCHS, pp. 124, 125.

⁸⁵The Downs' was a rendezvous area off the coast of Kent between Deal and the Goodwin sands, eight miles long by six wide.

will be procured you by Mr Thomas Colleton, if you apply yourself to him.⁸⁶

West was also given precise instructions about the reservation of land for the Proprietors on the basis of one hundred and fifty acres per head of thirty servants, 4,950 acres in total, outside the town, and the use of a mixed variety of soils for experimental planting purposes. The cultivation plan was elaborated minutely. The Proprietors' sense of priorities was questionable as West had to explain later.⁸⁷ By their letters to West, the Proprietors confirmed Thomas Colleton as provisioner for the expedition:

You may take from Barbados halfe a doz. young Sows and a Boar which will be furnished you by Mr Thomas Colleton You are in all things to consult, advize and communicate with Mr John Rivers, Agent for ye Lord Ashley. And with Mr (Godfrey?) Agent for Sir Peter Colleton, that they may be able to give a particular account of all transactions there.⁸⁸

Similarly, Henry Braine (sic), Captain of the *Carolina*, under the command of Joseph West, was given detailed instructions by the Proprietors. As leader of the expedition West might have been expected to issue these himself.

And when you are at Barbados you are to observe the orders of our Governor (Yeamans?) for your proceedings to Port Royall, and you shall be directed by Sir John Yeamans, Mr Thomas Colleton and Major Kingsland, and there take in passengers and other fraught for Port Royall If you come to Barbados you are to deliver what goods you shall bring from Port Royall for the Proprietors acc(ount) to Mr John Hallet, and take his and Mr Thomas Colleton's advice for your proceedings from thence⁸⁹

⁸⁶PRO, CO5/286, f. 19, 20.

⁸⁷See Appendix E.

⁸⁸About this time Thomas Colleton married Mary Mead, sister of planter John Mead from a neighbouring plantation in St John's parish. See Table 1.

⁸⁹Nathaniel Kingsland, planter, previously mentioned as the owner of an illegal slave trading ship. Thomas Colleton appeared against him for the Crown. (See p. 74)

Henry Brayne sent the Proprietors a list of all the passengers on board the *Carolina* on 10 August 1669.⁹⁰ The three ships of the expedition carried from England about one hundred and forty people, including nineteen families with servants, thirteen unaccompanied passengers, and the Proprietors' servants. They sailed from the Downs on 17 August and arrived in Barbados in October. The sloop *Albemarle* arrived three days behind the other two ships. She broke her cables in a storm and was driven ashore on the rocks at St Michael's Town. Thomas Colleton provided a replacement sloop belonging to his family, the *Three Brothers*, named after Peter, Thomas and James.⁹¹ West reported to the Lords Proprietors on 1 November 1669 and appealed for continued support and re-supply in the spring. He had been reduced to three months' reserve provisions for the landing in Carolina, due to delays caused by bad weather. Meanwhile Thomas Colleton and two other planters provided accommodation for the servants on the Colleton plantation.⁹² The principal passengers found lodgings ashore and with friends.

The fleet probably set sail from Carlisle Bay, Barbados, for Carolina, via Bermuda, very early in December, having taken on board a number of Barbadians, variously estimated between twenty and forty.⁹³ The date of departure was likely to have been shortly after Yeamans wrote his letters from Barbados to the Lords Proprietors on 28 November 1669.⁹⁴ The fleet soon ran into difficulties and the *Port Royal* became detached from her companions. The full story of the subsequent events was not reported

⁹⁰Chandler reckoned he could identify forty servants and ten "planters", but this deduction appears to be a simple count of large households from Brayne's list.

The question remains as to exactly who joined at Barbados. An analysis by Langdon Cheves is in *CSCHS*, pp. 134-137. See "Expansion", pp. 128, 129.

⁹¹*CSC*, p. 16, *Early Carolina*, pp. 111-113.

⁹²*CSPC*, 1664-74, No. 124.

⁹³Cheves named fifteen and "others" in a confusing note, *CSCHS*, p. 136n. Chandler estimated forty in "Expansion", p. 128. There has been speculation since these publications as to the precise origins of the twenty to forty who embarked in Barbados.

⁹⁴See Ashley's reference to Yeamans' letters, *CSCHS*, p. 164.

until a year later. On 4 March 1671 John Russell, Master, wrote from an address in London to Sir Peter Colleton by then also in the capital, to give an account of his dramatic journey and to appeal for financial consideration.⁹⁵ He had embarked Sir John Yeamans in Barbados. Bad weather, which usually dogged Sir John, forced them to put in at Nevis where they took on a pilot. More bad weather caused a parting from the other two ships. They beat about for six weeks and "were driven to such great want of water that wee were all ready to perish, our allowance beinge butt a pinte a day, and afterwards many of us were forced to drinck theyre owne urine, and salt water." They were shipwrecked in the Bahamas on 12 January 1669 but reached an island using the damaged ship's boat. A very uncooperative ships carpenter refused to help make repairs and had to be isolated on another island. Russell himself rebuilt the ships boat and landed his party on the inhabited Eleuthera Island, hired a sloop and sailed to New Providence Island. There he obtained transport to Bermuda for the majority of the original passengers of the *Port Royal Carolina* had arrived in Bermuda by 8 February 1670 where she was refitting after her journey.⁹⁶ Yeamans decided he would not wait for completion of the repairs, filled out his blank Governor's commission for the new colony in the name of William Sayle and in character with his behaviour at Cape Fear returned to Barbados. His excuse was sent to the Proprietors eight months later. Yeamans conveniently remembered that in March 1669 he had been appointed commissioner to negotiate the handing over by the French of part of St Kitts, under the Treaty of Breda. He had received this information months before the Carolina expedition. On 26 February the restored fleet, with a purchased replacement for the *Port Royal*, left Bermuda for Carolina with old William Sayle.

The same bad weather had resulted in the Colleton's sloop *Three Brothers* parting company with the flotilla and, after various adventures, reached Carolina in May 1670. On the way she made a landfall in Florida.

⁹⁵CSCHS, pp. 277-279.

⁹⁶Bermuda is 600 miles east of the eventual landing place on Ashley River. CSCHCS, p. 165n.

The Spanish captured the ship's master with Lord Ashley's agent and "kinsman" John Rivers, who had been appointed Keeper of the Proprietor's stores.⁹⁷ The ship was released. On arrival off the Carolina coast the sloop received word from the Indians that some English had already settled ten miles up the estuary of the Ashley River at Albemarle Point, later to be designated Charles Town. The *Carolina* and her accompanying sloop had first made a landfall near Edisto Island area about 17 March. After some discussion and Indian advice they sailed north to secure the Ashley River estuary.⁹⁸

What was to prove the first successful settlement in Carolina south of the Albemarle Sound had become established, tentatively, after the most alarming, ill-fated and unpromising journey. Eventful as it had proved, the most serious defects which could have had consequences for the stability of the young colony were inexperience and deficiencies in leadership. Apart from Yeamans, no Barbadian planters of real standing had committed themselves to the first voyage. The choice of Yeamans as leader was surprising in view of his record, especially after his desertion of the weakened Cape Fear expedition when morale was low, a precedent he repeated in Bermuda. It is a credit to Joseph West that he was able to reinvigorate the expedition after delays in far-off Bermuda, and surprising that indiscipline did not cause the collapse of a tenuous settlement governed by an octogenarian. In spite of considerable difficulties the colony was maintained but the seeds of dissension, jealousy and indiscipline grew under weak management. Only luck and a reinforcement plan allowed the settlement to consolidate. The commitment and pre-planning of Ashley and Peter Colleton in London, despite the lack of an overall authority in the Americas, was just sufficient for success. Future events were to illustrate the weaknesses of the triangular relationship between London, Barbados and Carolina and their exploitation by the new settlers. The difficulties had only begun.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 130n.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 165n.

PART 2

Carolina under Proprietary Rule

Chapter 5 Consolidation in Carolina

Chapter 6 The Establishment of South Carolina

Most Colleton correspondence with Carolina is generously quoted in Chapter Five partly due to its special relevance to settlement problems but especially because it gives primary evidence of overall venture leadership and organisation by the brothers Sir Peter and Thomas Colleton in the crucial two years following the landing at Albemarle Point. Contemporary criticisms of more local settler leadership, usually in self-defence or self-promotion of the author create some difficulty in assessing individual contributions and giving the correct balance of events. Chapter Six contains extracts of letters which are not frequently cited or another part of them is quoted.¹

¹Mainly from the Shaftesbury Papers at PRO, Chancery Lane and the Lovelace MSS in the Bodleian Library.

CHAPTER 5

Consolidation in Carolina

Early consolidation of the settlement at Albemarle Point was vital to success. The maintenance of the new colony by regular shipments of foodstuffs was the responsibility of Sir Peter Colleton and a feature of his pre-planning. He and Lord Ashley were quick to recognise deficiencies in the early leadership at Albemarle Point. No arrangements were made for the overall co-ordination of settlement and reinforcement either on the American mainland or in the Caribbean. This could have been provided by a seconded Proprietor. Yeamans took charge after the death of Governor Sayle and the temporary Governorship of Joseph West. He ignored the Proprietors' instructions issued from London and aggravated Lord Ashley who held the main Proprietary responsibility. His partisan attitude led to an early division into Proprietary and Anti-Proprietary parties. These were to remain, in various forms, until the end of Proprietary rule. The Proprietors had colonial aspirations beyond the boundaries of Carolina. All but two became founder members of the Bahamas Proprietary. Sir Peter and Ashley recognised the potential of the Hudson's Bay Company and became founder stockholders. The company was to exploit lucrative fur-trading prospects in the far north of the continent and, in the pursuit of national interests, any opportunity for the English to harass the development of French strategic communications. The French presence was soon recognised as a threat to the stability of the American seaboard colonies.

Sir Peter's career as a colonial entrepreneur of some importance was initiated in 1668 with the assumption, in London, of his father's proprietorship. On 21 October 1669, he was confirmed as first High Steward of the newly-named Palatine Court of the Proprietary. Only three months later, on 20 January 1670, he became its Chancellor by vacancy succession caused by the death of the Duke of Albemarle. Lord John Berkeley succeeded the Duke as the senior available Proprietor and

became Lord Palatine.² Ashley chose the position of Chief Justice. Clarendon, in exile, was excluded but Sir William Berkeley could give direct assistance from Virginia. Each Proprietor was entitled to appoint a Deputy in Carolina. Peter Colleton chose Captain John Godfrey from Barbados. He was to share him with Ashley as plantation agent in Carolina, following the recent capture of John Rivers by the Spanish en route for the new settlement in the Colleton's *Three Brothers*.

The Proprietors had three priorities for the settlement after the initial landings; first, the defence of the site against Spanish attack; second, resupply of provisions until the first adequate harvest, and third, early self-dependence. Plans for each of these events were tested early in the life of the settlement and self-dependence took longer than the pioneers expected. Lack of Proprietary support to enable the colony to obtain a secure foothold remained an issue for half a century afterwards. It was one of the main contributory reasons for the growth of disaffection in the small but factional community.

It is evident from an examination of the chronology of events, before and after the landings, that careful arrangements for the purchase and phasing of maintenance supplies had been made by Peter Colleton. This initial provisioning plan was probably unique in early colonial history and was well controlled. It is also well documented. It has been given little or no acknowledgement or credit except by Governor Holden of the Bahamas in 1707. He wrote to say that South Carolina's "powerfulness arises from the timely supplies sent thither (by Sir Peter Colleton) on its first settlement by the Lords Proprietors who are devotedly attached to it ..."³ The effectiveness of his arrangements underlines his family's critical role in the early history of the new settlement. Richard Bennett and Thomas Godwin wrote from Nansamund River, Virginia, to Sir Peter at St James'

²He was not the senior surviving Lord Proprietor as stated in CSPC, 1669-74, No. 143. Carteret and William Berkeley were both older but unwilling or not available, the latter being the Governor of Virginia. Duration in proprietorship, not rank, was the determining factor.

³CSCHS, p. 417n.

to acknowledge his provisioning instructions to their predecessors. They had been asked by Sir Peter to supply cattle, hogs and other items to Port Royal.⁴ They also relayed to London a report of Sir John Yeamans' precipitate return to Barbados from the Bahamas and the visit of a Barbadian sloop to Nansamund in January 1670 which left the following month.⁵

Joseph West, the leader of the Carolina expedition, wrote to Ashley on 27 June from Albemarle Point, ten miles up the Ashley River.⁶ He described the efforts made to trace Ashley's agent, John Rivers, still detained by the Spanish. He had sent the Colleton's sloop *Three Brothers* to St Katharine with letters asking for their release but two of his emissaries had been detained. The boat had to return without them to Albemarle Point to avoid capture by Spanish ships.

By August food stocks had reduced to a few weeks supply and reprovisioning became urgent. The *Carolina* and the *Three Brothers* were dispatched to Virginia and Bermuda. Brayne and the *Carolina* returned to the settlement from Virginia on 23 August. She arrived on the heels of a Spanish warship making an aggressive reconnaissance to Ashley River. Loitering near the river mouth, the Spaniards caused alarm to the new community. West was sure the Spaniards "hath an intent.... to cut us off if possibly hee can; we have often times bene allarum'd by them." The Spanish ship had a mainly Indian crew. The *Carolina's* coincidental return had a welcome effect:

....the Arrivall of the ship and the noyse of our great Guns did strike such a Terrour upon the Indians that the Spaniards

⁴Contrary to any reasonable forecast for the duration of the journey (one month would be a generous allowance), the three ships of the expedition had not left Bermuda for Carolina until the end of January 1670. Peter Colleton would have assumed a much earlier arrival in Carolina than March 1679 and could not have know of the delays until well after his instructions for phased replenishment had been sent to agents. SP, f. 68.

⁵This was probably another planned replenishment from Barbados and at that time would have found no settlement to receive them in the Port Royal or Ashley River areas. CSPC, 1669-74, No. 342.

⁶CSPC, 1669-74, No. 203.

could not perswade them to come upon us ye ship hath brought us from Virginia a considerable proporcon of provision, and some live Cattell, and account whereof I have sent to Sir Peter Colleton....⁷

West advised that no land could yet be taken up until more settlers arrived except in plots adjoining the "town" at ten acres per head. Mr Brayne, Master of the *Carolina*, "doth inform us of many people in readiness to come from Barbadoes".⁸ West despatched the *Carolina* to Barbados to obtain reinforcements before winter and forestall Spanish attempts against them with their garrison troops at St Augustine. The settlers were in good health and the country "... very healthfull and delightsome". The corn thrived and only garden seeds failed. "I believe the ground will beare anything that is put in it, and that it is as hopefull a Designe as ever was put on foot." The health of Governor Sayle caused much more concern:

....Hee is very aged and hath much lost himself in his Government: and would have called a Parliament amongst us although wee could not make 20 freemen in the Collony besides the Council...⁹

The Proprietors deputies and the Council opposed Sayle's plan. West doubted if the Governor would be the asset they had expected. He had refused to accept instructions for the disposal of the Proprietor's stores as these were "onely signed by Your Lordship and Sir Peter Colleton". The Proprietor's stores had nevertheless been depleted and Sir Peter was sent a list of items required by the spring of 1671.¹⁰ On his recent return from Virginia Captain Brayne had brought three servants and the first

⁷CSCHS, pp. 203.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Although apparently not acknowledged, this list may have been the reason for the despatch of the *John and Thomas* of John Strode and Thomas Colleton which arrived at Ashley River from Barbados on 5 January 1671. The response time is feasible. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

slaves, possibly the first in Carolina, for his own use.¹¹ These were followed in September 1670 by three white servants and three negroes from Bermuda for Governor Sayle's household.¹²

Brayne arrived in Barbados on his reinforcement mission at the end of October 1670. He was directed to return with any settlers who might respond to the "Barbados Proclamation" which had been read, agreed and signed by Sayle in Carolina. Speed was important to capitalise on the initial success and to encourage passage by emigrants on Brayne's return trip.¹³ The Proclamation had originated in London immediately after news of the landing and had the endorsement of John Locke, Secretary to the Proprietary. He sent it to Sayle at Albemarle Point which the Governor was instructed to describe in future as "Charles Towne on the Ashley River". Sayle signed it on 21 May 1670. He forwarded it to Thomas Colleton and it eventually reached him, via Virginia, on 31 October 1671.¹⁴ It announced that Captain Brayne's passengers of a year earlier had arrived in Carolina and settled safely. Ships of three to four hundred tons could load and unload there on "skidds". The country produced all manner of plants:

Sugar cannes, cotton, ginger, tobacco, potatoes, yames and corne ... from this day forward they will have noe need of supplies for the future. The stocks that which is now in the ground that will next spring be planted sufficiently will

¹¹The chronology of events has been adhered to strictly. Peter H. Wood's dates agree. He mentions Brayne's negro. I cannot confirm his guess that slaves may have been aboard the Colleton's sloop in the 1669 expedition. In view of what befell the *Three Brothers* passengers in Spanish Florida, a contingent of slaves would probably have caused comment. I have not traced any. About a quarter of the Carolina population was black by August 1671, according to Camunas, and the same proportion a year later when the figures were probably overestimated by Fitzpatrick as 800 whites and 300 blacks. The Barbadians turned naturally to a source of cheap labour they were accustomed to and understood. *Black Majority*, pp. 19-21, 25.

¹²Three proprietors, including Peter Colleton, wrote jointly to Sir John Yeamans in May 1670 to acknowledge his letter of 28 November from Barbados. They advised that he was wrong in assuming no provision had been made for land for negroes. They meant negroes as well as "christians", but this clarification was not given until after the expedition had left. See CSCHS, p. 164, and *Black Majority*, p. 21.

¹³CSCHS, p. 210.

¹⁴Possibly with Brayne in the *Carolina*, but there is no information that he went to Barbados via Virginia.

maintain them and to spare. The Indians that boarder on them being so friendly ... they supplye them with deer, fish and fowle in a great abundance as likewise in assisting them to cleare and plant their land.¹⁵

The *Carolina* frigate had been provided by the Lords Proprietors to transport "themselves, sarvants, negroes or utensils" and would depart from Barbados in thirty days. People who had provided muscovado sugar to finance the Hilton reconnaissance would now receive grants of land on the scale promised if application was made to the Proprietors' Agents.¹⁶ Those unable to pay their passage would reimburse the Agents within two years.

The inducements did not speed the departure of the *Carolina* from Barbados. She and the *John and Thomas* belonging to John Strode and Thomas Colleton did not set sail for Carolina until 27 December 1670, almost a two-month turn round, and arrived in February 1671. On 9 November 1670, Henry Brayne wrote to Lord Ashley from Barbados.¹⁷ He implied that the new settlement was ill-managed by the "ancient and crazy" Governor Sayle. If the (Carolina) Council were wise and knowledgeable it would encourage investment by the settlers. There were five good councillors, including Captain West, but they knew nothing of planting. The Surveyor General, Sullivan (sic), was rash and untrustworthy, abused the Governor and his surveying was irregular. Brayne urged his replacement. He asked for Sir Peter Colleton's promise to him of 5,000 acres to be honoured, in compensation for his expenses on the Cape Fear expedition, and for him to be permitted to site it in any

¹⁵The forecast of plentiful crops was premature. *Ibid.*, pp. 209, 210.

¹⁶The agents in Barbados for contracts were John Strode of St Michael's Town (the leading merchant in Barbados and a planter in Carolina by 1671), Major Nathaniel Kingsland of Windward, Sir John Yeamans of Leeward and Thomas Colleton at the Cleft, St Johns. Captain Brayne would also be present to confirm agreements.

The Proprietors would provide victuals, tools and clothes at easy rates from their store. Merchandise from England would be duty free for seven years and similarly exports to England until seven years after seven tons of one product had been shipped in one vessel. See CSCHS, pp. 210-213.

¹⁷CSCHS, pp. 214-217. He wrote in similar vein on 20 November to Peter Colleton, but at much greater length. SP, ff. 124-5.

part of the colony of his own choice. Thomas Colleton and Mr Stroud, merchant, had taken "abundance of paines and they had taken up £100 for the furnishing of our ship (*Carolina*) with necessaries and provisions for our seamen and passengers that goes down with us". Brayne solicited another ship to be sent out by the Proprietors and for the post of Master to be given to his mate, John Coming, who was well acquainted with the area.

Brayne also sought a higher status to avoid being removed from his post by "our Governors and Council ... or by other men's envies for their own private interest". Employees of the Proprietors, like Brayne, had no hesitation in reporting home their personal opinions, even on occasions when they were of no relevance to their particular employment, in the hope of influencing change. The Proprietors encouraged criticism and indiscipline by their habit of writing to relatively junior officials, who were quick to respond, over the heads of their seniors. The lack of control which could have been provided by a resident Proprietor contributed significantly towards the formation of cliques. Later attempts to seize authority were an inevitable concomitant of weak and divided leadership of an assertive section of settlers bent on self-aggrandisement.

On 15 November 1670, the same date that Yeamans had made his delayed excuse to the Proprietors for deserting the settlement expedition in Bermuda nine months earlier, he wrote letters to Ashley and Colleton.¹⁸ Much later, in July 1674, Sir Peter commented to Locke about Yeamans' "one damnd fault ...he fails to put pen to paper and thereby leaving people dissatisfied".¹⁹ A review of his available correspondence shows that he set aside infrequent days for letter writing when he disposed of matters that had not resolved themselves. His failure to communicate with Ashley more often or to carry out his instructions prejudiced Ashley against him.

¹⁸Yeamans to Ashley, CSCHS, pp. 220,221, and Yeamans to Peter Colleton, SP, f. 119, 120.

¹⁹Peter Colleton to John Locke, 22 July 1674, Lovelace MSS, c. 6, ff. 217, 218, Bodleian Library.

Yeamans advised Ashley from Barbados of his intention to go to Carolina in the summer of 1671, and sent him twelve cedar planks as:

The first fruits of that glorious Province, which promising in abundance all those good things the heart of man can wish for doth at present infinitely abound in this excellent sort of timber.²⁰

The information would not have pleased the Proprietors. They had been given no consideration in the space allocated for return cargo in their own ship the *Carolina*. Yeamans enclosed a report from the Indian expert, Henry Woodward, who had been left by Colonel Sandford to live among the Indians near Port Royal in 1666. Woodward had made "a very large discovery" and did not wish his "find" to be disclosed to the Carolina "government" which he did not trust. He hoped to report in person to the Proprietors. Yeamans considered that Woodward's presence was essential in Carolina and that he should remain "he being the only person by whose means wee hold a fair and peaceable correspondence with the Natives...". He expected to find out what Woodward was concealing without him returning to London.²¹ In his letter to Sir Peter, Yeamans reported that maps of the Bahamas had been handed by pilot Christopher Barrow to Thomas Colleton, who was to copy them for him. Yeamans had persuaded Captain Godfrey, shortly to be plantation agent to Ashley and Colleton in Carolina, and Gray, his own plantation agent in Barbados, to move to Carolina in three weeks "with a very considerable strength of servants and many others..."²² Disconcertingly, Yeamans advised that the Barbados Assembly had passed an Act to,

prevent depopulation in which there are great penaltyes imposed upon such persons that shall endeavour and

²⁰CSCHS, p. 220.

²¹Later elicited to be pearls and silver. Ashley insisted that Woodward should code his correspondence and substitute the words antimony and iron in their place. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

²²Godfrey was to take five "hands". Brayne assessed Gray's party to be an overseer and ten men, mostly carpenters and sawyers. Sir John Yeamans and the others were to travel later. Mr Strode and Justice Harvey were also sending ten, including the Judge's son. See CSCHS, pp. 228-232.

perswade any to goe hence for other colonyes which will be a great hindrance of supplyes from hence.

Henry Brayne complained to Peter Colleton on 20 November 1670 that he had only received one letter from him since leaving England.²³ He attributed the failure to ship "a freight" of timber in Carolina for the Proprietors to the distracted condition of the colony and other priorities.²⁴ There had been no cut timber to load. He would fill the ship "as deepe as ever she can swim or as full as she can houlde". With the arrival in Carolina of Captain Godfrey, Mr Gray "and some other ingenious planters things will be better carried than they are now".²⁵ For the management of provisioning arrangements he asked Sir Peter to delegate authority to Thomas Colleton, John Strode, Sir John Yeamans, Nathaniel Kingsland and himself. To establish some authority in Carolina he asked for the nomination of Joseph West and himself, or some kind person such as Godfrey, as the Governor Sayle was unfit and hardly "compus mentes"(sic).

He is one of the unfittest men in the world for his placement and by him being Governor doth keepe our settlement verie much back ... if we had a wise Councell or three or fouer men of reason that was planters that knew what did belong to settle such a country ... if we are guided by those that knoweth nothing that doth belong to a settlement or at least planting as I am constraint to doe as they doth if they undoe themselves for want of judgment I must lykewise be undone per force...²⁶

Brayne's report underlined the remarkable unsuitability of the early arrivals at Charles Town as pioneer settlers.

Sir Peter's brother, Thomas, required decisions to be made concerning his administration and his authority as "cheefe agent" to the Proprietors. He wrote at length to Sir Peter from Barbados on 23

²³CSCHS, pp. 232-237.

²⁴Possibly a reference to his coincidental arrival at Albemarle Point with a Spanish warship.

²⁵CSCHS, pp.232-237.

²⁶*Ibid.*

November 1670.²⁷ Sir Peter had earlier suspected the accuracy of Captain Brayne's maintenance accounts for the *Carolina* and the provisioning agent's in Virginia. Despite Brayne's protestations Thomas evidently had similar views:

Captain Brayne hath shewed mee his accounts and sends them home by this conveyance. His Virginia accompts are very extravagant and cheats I thinke; I mean those hee had from them that furnished the ship their for never was such rates given wherefore you ought to take care to have better factors for the future and things better ordered at Carolina then now they are.²⁸

Thomas Colleton gave a different reason for Brayne's recent failure to obtain a return cargo for the Proprietors after his first trip with provisions to Ashley River. The crew of the *Carolina* had not missed an opportunity for profit at the expense of their owners. Thomas was concerned that authority was presently too diverse to be effective and, like Brayne, sought a superior status in the regulation of supply and trading. He asked for a

positive order to the Governor and Captain West to follow my orders and directions as to the loading and dispatching her from thence...

In view of Governor Sayle's senility Thomas sought for himself no less than the right to appoint a Governor in an emergency. This power was reserved to the Proprietary alone except on a temporary and provisional basis in the event of death. Thomas gave his reason:

You may please to lodge a blank Commission with me and impower me and some others upon a Case of necessity to send or put on another Governor for you are so remote and soe long before you can hear from thence that all may bee lost before you can remedie it of this please to consider well and if you doe anything in it dispatch it to mee first.

Remote communications continued to present special problems for many years. Thomas received no recorded reply to his important and relevant request. Regardless of his suitability it was a matter which deserved

²⁷SP, ff. 130, 131.

²⁸CSCHS, pp. 232, 237.

urgent attention as later events were to demonstrate. The need for temporary replacements was surprisingly frequent.

Thomas was dissatisfied with the Virginian merchants who were supplying the settlement, Bennett and Godwin:

I am clearly of opinion that New Yorke or new Jarsye will bee much fitter for our stocking Carolina then Virginia. I have had layeing ready at the Brige (St Michael's Town harbour, Barbados) some time 6 barrells of Molasses between 2 and three tonns of Rum.

The Barbadian predilection for rum is responsible for numerous remarks about their excessive consumption in Carolina as it had been in Barbados. Habit and the profit motive clearly outweighed any thoughts of control or moderation. Yeamans, while Governor of the Colony, imported rum in quantity.²⁹ The effect of liberal exports from Barbados led Governor West to declare a few months later that a servant

brought out of England is worth two of ye Barbadians for they are so much addicted to Rum, that they do little whilst the bottle is at their nose.³⁰

The effect of rum on behaviour, and therefore the ambience of early Carolina life, was often reiterated in contemporary accounts. It had affected the tone of life in Barbados and could have had an impact on the stability of the new colony. As West described so graphically it had an adverse effect on the output of Barbadian labour.

The export of rum from Barbados also played a part in Thomas Colleton's sensible proposal to improve trading efficiency and help the new colony. On 23 November 1670 he recommended a triangular circuit for the *Three Brothers* and the *Carolina*.³¹ Thomas reiterated his request

²⁹Peter Colleton to John Locke, 22 July 1674, Lovelace MSS, C. 6, fols. 217, 218, Bodleian Library.

³⁰CSCHS, p. 299.

³¹This involved loading timber in Carolina for Barbados, plantation produce (mainly rum) in Barbados for New York which could be bartered for supplies to Carolina. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

for overriding powers and signified his intention of visiting Carolina in order to tighten up the administration of supply.

Please with the Proprietors to consider well of these affairs and give mee as I have before desired full power and Instructions in all things that I may confidently goe aboute your affairs for since you have begun soe well their is now noe goeing back without looseing reputation and Interest. If I can order my affairs hear (sic) after the Crop I intend with your consent to make a trip and see things a little better settled and carryd on. Wee doe not doubt now (sic) of 80 people from Barbadoes besides what I may expect from the Leeward Islands.³²

There is no record of a visit by Thomas but it is likely that he made more than one trip to Carolina. The later award of a patent as Landgrave, investment in Cypress barony and other properties, his trading company on the Cooper River and the appointment of an agent, Maverick, were indicative of his interest in Carolina's future. Thomas Colleton and John Strode had invested in a vessel of their own, the *John and Thomas*, in addition to the Colleton's *Three Brothers*, in order to benefit from increased trading and transportation to the growing settlement. His commitment and enthusiasm encouraged others to make a move. He mentioned that John Strode was treated by "seamen and all" as their "cheefe agent in my absence" which made his own role clear. He sought a considerable land grant for Strode in Carolina which would "oblige others to serve you and continue his zeal and affection to the place".³³ Thomas discussed the method of handling payment of accounts by the Proprietary and charges upon them. He ended with his third appeal for authority, a request to implement his proposed trading pattern for the supply of Carolina.

But henceforward if I receive full power to load the ship at Carolina as affor mentioned I doubt not but I shall save the Proprietors this charge...³⁴

³²*Ibid.*, p. 242.

³³The request was probably met. In 1696/7 Strode left a 500-acre plantation in Goose Creek, Carolina, to his son. See CSCHS, p. 248.

³⁴CSCHS, p. 245.

On 26 December Thomas advised Governor Sayle and his Council that he was responding to their request for more settlers.³⁵ In order to obtain an adequate commercial return he emphasised the need to obtain a profitable return cargo to enable him to set up a factory. This was the first mention of a processing facility in Carolina. It would provide employment, building materials, prepare goods for export and reduce the space required for shipping bulk.

Yours by my sloop *Three Brothers* came lately to my hands with the desires of speeding people to you, in order to which, the *Carolina* will god willing sayle tomorrow with about sixty or seaventy passingers, and hath orders to touch at the Leward Islands to see what more she can get... also Mr Jno: Strobe and my self doe send a vessell of our owne the *John and Thomas*..."

Colleton asked for Sayle's help to dispatch

our ship loaded with timber hither againe, by which meanes you will not onely incourage us to continue our trade with you in shipping, and to settle a factory among you, but alsoe bring a great many people to you, and a trade alsoe, when now the vessells from you comeing empty doth disincourage the same...

Colleton's final admonition and threat must have brought some realisation that neither the Proprietary nor he was prepared to finance the costs of settlement without contribution and profit, the reason for the whole undertaking.

I doe intreat for the *Carolina* ... if she doe not come back loaded upon the Lords proprietors Accompts this time, she will hardly come back to you againe... how to produce mony without effects, I know not, and this is the only way to fill you with people, and to bring you a trade when empty vessells I doe assure you will never doe it, it hath cost £200 sterling to set the *Carolina* to sea this time, and next time twill cost a great deal more".³⁶

³⁵CSCHS, p. 255.

³⁶The *Carolina* took 64 people, including Captain Godfrey and Gray. The *John and Thomas* took 42. For names see *Ibid.*, p. 271n. Captain Godfrey was to manage Sir Peter's and Lord Ashley's plantation interests.

The *Three Brothers* could accommodate 120 passengers excluding crew. *Ibid.*, p.255.

Thomas also had worries about the profitability of his staple crop in Barbados. Increasing competition from Jamaican sugar brought realisation to the planters of the penalty for soil impoverishment. Willoughby was concerned enough to write from London to point out the comparative lack of quality with Jamaican samples. Apprehensions over the future of Barbados caused four thousand inhabitants to emigrate between 1668 and 1672, mainly planters and their households.³⁷ The large plantation worked by a slave labour gang had become a feature of the Barbados economy. Although now resident in England Sir Peter was still concerned with island affairs. He was anxious to avoid a further decline in the numbers of less prosperous landowners and encouraged local legislation to restrict acreage increases to the large plantations. The big planters with a vested interest modified Sir Peter's enlightened proposals and emigration actually increased that year. In March 1671 the Gentlemen Planters, including Sir Peter, again attempted to save the place of freeholders in the economy. They recommended that the Barbados Assembly should pass a law preventing landowners who already owned twenty-five acres from buying or renting more. They also tried to encourage the Assembly to oppose any increase in sugar prices to retain competition and protect the employment of the poor.³⁸ Nevertheless, emigration again accelerated, especially of landless freemen. A proportion left for Jamaica to seek their fortune buccaneering on the Spanish Main.³⁹

On November 1670, Ashley and five other Carolina proprietors, by appointment or succession, obtained the grant of the Bahamas from Charles II. These included Sir Peter but excluded William Berkeley and Clarendon. This addition to the neighbouring Carolina grant was probably conceived by Ashley as part of a grand design. It could give flanking protection for the Carolinas and the extended sea communications between the Caribbean and southern mainland colonies, especially against Spanish attack. It would also offer control of the three commercial

³⁷"Expansion", p. 125, CSPC, 1669-74, No. 357.

³⁸*Ibid.*, No. 413.

³⁹"Expansion", p. 125.

centres of Albemarle (N. Carolina), Charles Town (S. Carolina) and New Providence (Bahamas) with the object of stimulating trade between Bermuda, Barbados and the American colonies. The charter contained the conventional terms and conditions for Restoration colonies. Of all the proprietors, Peter Colleton would have been the first to appreciate any commercial and plantation opportunities. He was the only experienced Caribbean trader and planter among them. Two years later Ashley was to express his concern to West that through his experience and interests Peter Colleton was in a position to take commercial advantage of his colleagues.

Ashley planned to impose a landed aristocracy in the Bahamas on the Carolina model. Apart from the appointment of an administration, grandiose plans for the settlement of the Bahamas were never realised. The daunting estimate of costs for the first three years may have been the reason. The original computation included the settlement of one thousand people and six hundred slaves within six months, and eight thousand slaves at New Providence within two years. The cost of this last item alone would have been £200,000 at 1671 prices. The total cost for a three year scheme, including a garrison of regular troops, was estimated at £633,000 by the Proprietary's advisers.⁴⁰

In May 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company also received its charter. Its members included the royal family, courtiers and merchants. It was given a trading monopoly embracing a quarter of North America.⁴¹ Many of the 1670 shareholders were already members of the Royal Adventurers into

⁴⁰Ashley's attention had been drawn to the settlement of New Providence in the Bahamas by John Darrell and Hugh Wentworth in the interests of the strategic defence of the Carolinas against Spanish attack. Ashley's hopes were primarily for trade. Peter Colleton advised against planting there. See K.H.D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) p. 232; *CSCHS*, p. 423, and *Colonial Period*, p. 200n.

⁴¹In 1665, according to K.H.D. Haley, Charles II had put the French advocates of Hudson's Bay Trade, Groselleirs and Radisson, "into the hands of Sir John Colleton's son, Sir Peter, and thus with the Carolina group, who knew from experience the value of beaver and other furs". The political prospects were of tapping the French fur trade and the interruption of its lines of communication. The country did not lend itself to settlement. See *Shaftesbury*, p. 231.

Africa, five were members of the Carolina Proprietary and there were links with other proprietary grants.⁴² Peter Colleton was the first colonial adventurer to invest in the embryo company in 1667, three years before its incorporation by royal charter and the third person to subscribe to the syndicate which sponsored the first voyage. The first two were London businessmen and financiers whose interest had been invited by Prince Rupert's secretary. The Prince and Sir George Carteret, while remaining in the background, were probably the prime movers. Colleton's first subscription was on 22 November 1667, immediately after his arrival in England from Barbados to take over his father's Proprietorship. He had accumulated a £337 investment by the date of incorporation in May 1670, almost a year later.⁴³ The minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company provide clear evidence that Colleton was willing to risk an investment in the business of empire without waiting to follow the example of his older Proprietary colleagues. Like his father he was prepared to take a lead in initiating venture projects and was not a passive supporter. The combination of the recent successful landing in Carolina and the simultaneous investment in two new transatlantic organisations created the framework for a vast commercial network in a very short period of time. Peter Colleton was not slow to seize the opportunities offered by his association with Ashley. Ashley was not only a colleague, but also a very experienced politician and minister almost at the height of his influence and at the heart of the imperialist commercial movement. Colleton had reached a position with enormous commercial and political potential so long as Ashley remained in power, but Ashley's enemies were stronger than his friends. It was this combination of circumstances, repeated in

⁴²*Colonial Period*, p. 226n (note at end of chapter)

⁴³Ashley could have had the national strategic interest in mind as a further incentive and probably hoped his merchant colleagues like Colleton would establish the base.

the generations, which led Rich to argue "the Colletons are to be grouped among the leading Restoration imperialists."⁴⁴

Sir Peter also acquired an appointment which was to give him power and influence in the long term. The Barbados Assembly appointed a Committee of Correspondence in 1670/71 to communicate with an unofficial committee of planters living in London and this included Colleton. The Assembly had found on previous occasions that influential planters and merchants in London were able to provide useful advice. They could affect the course of legislation and policy at court and parliament. This was demonstrated by the defeat of a bill in 1670 to increase the duty on certain commodities, including sugar. The revenue was secretly intended by Charles II to increase the size of the fleet to achieve parity with the Dutch and the French. Lord Ashley's advice was ignored. He was aware of the secret intention and how to ensure opposition to the bill. He arranged for Sir Peter to procure a petition from Barbados for an abatement of the tax on their chief commodity. As a result the King's bill was referred to a committee of which Ashley was chairman. In April 1671 the Lords agreed the committee's recommendation for abatement of the sugar tax part of the bill. The dispute which followed between the two Houses was attended daily by Sir Peter and his colleagues. It became so intense that the King prorogued Parliament and the whole bill was lost.⁴⁵ Ashley had clearly manipulated a genuine Barbadian concern in order to forestall the financing of what became the Third Dutch War, to which he was vehemently opposed.

The Barbados Assembly appreciated the advice which Sir Peter constantly transmitted to them about preparing the defence of the

⁴⁴E. E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671-1674*, 2 Vols, (Toronto, The Publications of the Champlain Society, 1942), I, pp. xxd, xxv, 218-222.

The first woman subscriber in June 1670, was the second wife of Sir James Drax of Deresalt, Yorkshire and Drax Hall, Barbados, where she was a close neighbour of the Colletons. The Drax family became linked by marriage to the descendants of Sir Peter's brother James.

⁴⁵CSPC, 1669-74, Nos. 332, 413, 414 and G. W. Cooke, *Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, 2 Vols, (London: Richard Bentley, 1836) I, p. 410.

island.⁴⁶ They supported the activities of the Gentlemen of Barbados by sending them a quarter of a sugar levy imposed "to put the island in a good posture of defence". This sum was for the Gentlemens' own use, but especially "presenting their addresses" before His Majesty. The apparent ease with which the island passed legislation recommended by Sir Peter Colleton and his Barbadian colleagues, which would have been contested if instructed by the crown, was a precursor of forthcoming but often less successful arrangements made with agents of colonies.

Sir Peter was never to be more fully committed than during the first years of the 1670's. His correspondence from Carolina continued unabated. Joseph West wrote informatively on 2 March 1671. He reported the arrival of the *John and Thomas* on 8 February, and the Carolina on 16 February.⁴⁷

...wee have lived very peaceably & Quiet from Alarms by ye Spaniard who wee suppose will noe more come near vs...

West complained that most of the new arrivals were

unprovided with Provisions wee haveing none in Store now it will goe something hard with vs if ye supply should not come timely which your brother sent by ye way of Bermuda. I have cleared this year about 30 acres of ground and built convenient houseing for our selves & servants which was all compleated & Palisadoed in before ye Arrival of ye shippes...Wee have not had one Dyed out of our Family since wee came into ye countrey; which I Looked vpon as a great mercy from God, I hope most part of ye old Standers will plant enough this year to produce Provisions for ye next. Captain Godfrey is come hither from your brother to act for you in part of Partnership, whom I do think is a very honest man & a good Planter; I shall advise with him in all things; wee are resolved to plant most of our ground with Provisions which is ye Life of a new Settlement only to make this year full experiment of what ye country will produce best.... Wee had a great blast here ye Latter end of October which did kill all things, ye cotton was coddled very well but it came to nothing....Ye stocke wee had from Virginia doe thrive well, especially ye Hoggs increase much, ye cattell are of a very small kind, I believe you may have a better Stocke from New

⁴⁶CSPC, 1669-74, No. 357.

⁴⁷CSCHS, p. 271.

York or Bermuda and come at as easy a Rate as These...Sir our Governor is very Aged and weake, and I believe past recovery of this fitt. I hope ye honourable Proprietors will appoint an honest able man to be our Governor and one that desires to fear god above all worldly interest and endeavour to Propagate & cherish ye service of God amongst vs and to roote out evill and wickednesse wee must never expect a blessing on our undertakeings. I hear that Sir John Yeomans is comeing amongst vs againe, if soe I doubt it will something cloud a hopefull Settlement....⁴⁸

West's concern about Yeamans must have originated from gossip and earlier meetings in Barbados and Bermuda. He was most likely to align himself with other Barbadians. West had good reason to be worried and their future relationship was antagonistic.

I have one thing Sir humbly to request of ye Proprietors, that when they send ye Seal of their Province here I may be trusted with it, for I think it may be a Place of some benefitt hereafter..."

West must have seen the guardianship of the Seal as a means of securing recognition as the Governor presumptive and a way of forestalling Yeamans' appointment. West added a plaintive postscript reflecting his isolation and the unreliability of communications with London.

I have not received any letter from you or any of ye Proprietors since our departure from Ireland: Pray Sir will you be pleased to send a good fouling peece of 7 foote Long well fortyfyed and Double Locked.

Life was evidently placid enough for West to look forward to some wild-fowling but there was concern over the level of reserve food supplies until the 1670 plantings could be harvested. The *John and Thomas* returned to Barbados on 5 March and the *Carolina* on 21 March after loading with pine. West had taken up 300 acres near the town in the name of the partnership of Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret and Sir Peter Colleton.⁴⁹

⁴⁸In January 1670 Godfrey was recorded as Sir Peter's Deputy on the Council. He was his plantation agent. According to Andrews William Owen sailed from England as Sir Peter's Deputy but the appointment must have been effected later. CSPC, 1669-74, No. 143; *Colonial Period*, p. 229n., CSC, p. 26.

⁴⁹CSPC, 1669-74, No. 429.

Bermuda continued to be an alternative and minor source of supply for Carolina, but also a pick-up point for stores from Barbados. Captain John Stow wrote to Sir Peter from Bermuda on 11 March 1671 to say he had received good news of the settlement and seven tons of supplies from Thomas Colleton; he had added three tons bought locally, all for despatch to Colonel Sayle.⁵⁰ He had also hired the *Blessing* as additional transportation to Carolina. Stow expected further trade with Carolina. Sir John Heydon, the Governor of Bermuda, advised the Proprietors that he expected to establish regular communications between Bermuda and the colony. However, Barbados remained the principal communication link for at least the next thirty years.⁵¹

Emphasising a new confidence in the stability of the Carolina settlement, a patent was issued on 16 March 1671 by Lord John Berkeley, Palatine, creating Sir Peter's youngest brother James a Landgrave, at the age of 24. The grant mentioned the esteem in which Sir Peter was held by his colleagues.⁵² The patent gave James the right to buy four baronies totalling 48,000 acres.⁵³ He did not exercise his right until August 1683, although 12,724 acres were surveyed in 1679 by order of Governor West and the Council. Until then James had no commitment of any importance to the affairs of the new colony and only minor standing of a legal and parish nature in Barbados. The three surviving brothers now had a stake in Carolina's future.⁵⁴ Sir Peter may have encouraged the grant of James' patent as an opportunity for increasing the total stake on the Cooper River if prospects justified it. In total the result was much the largest group

⁵⁰John Stow to Sir Peter Colleton, 11 March 1671, SP, f. 230-233.

⁵¹SP, f. 235, *English Atlantic*, p. 32.

⁵²See Appendix D. The patent was preserved by James Colleton's descendants and brought by them from Barbados to England in November 1723. It is remarkable that it survived conditions in Barbados unlike so many documents of that age.

⁵³It was the first and oldest Carolina patent and preceded those of Yeamans, Locke and James Carteret. CSPC, 1669-74, Nos. 492, 512, J H Easterby, *Wadboo Barony: Its Fate as Told in the Colleton Family Papers, 1773-1793*, (Columbia: University of S. Carolina Press, 1952), p. vii.

⁵⁴By 1683 this included a seignory and two baronies, each of 12,000 acres, with a number of adjoining tracts and town lots. "CFSC", pp. 328-330, 334.

holding in the early years of South Carolina. Thomas was made a Landgrave ten years later, in 1681, and spent the intervening years developing his trading interests.⁵⁵ Generations of Colletons who were to be involved with Carolina descended from this fraternity.

It was only nineteen days after West's report of 2 March 1671 that he had to write to Ashley, Carteret and Colleton to advise the death of the old Governor Sayle "who was very aged and nature quite decayed in him".⁵⁶ Sayle had nominated West to be his successor until the Proprietors' pleasure was known. West had no wish for a permanent appointment. He described the reaction to his publication of orders by the late Governor Sayle and his Council for the regulation of the sabbath, an indication of the very early division into supporters and opponents of the Proprietor's chief representative.

Some hot spirited persons being ambitious of perpetuating their owne wicked Inclinacons spurned at all order and good Government fearing to be reduced from a sordid beastly life, yet they will rather not live than be induced to live well; such hath been the life of one Mr William Owen amongst us.⁵⁷

West had divided the settlement of under one hundred and fifty people fit to bear arms in two companies due to his fears that the Indians might destroy them. He gave a detailed report of his own work on behalf of the Ashley, Carteret and Colleton plantation.⁵⁸ Surveyor General O'Sullivan was condemned for incompetence and a replacement, Culpeper from Barbados, was requested. West needed a seal of grants, wax and a copy of the Proprietors' patent from the King. He advised splitting up the Proprietors' plantation because of the difficulties of a fair allocation of dissimilar configurations of land when it was eventually divided.

⁵⁵The patent is not in the hands of his descendants, possibly because his son sold his interest. Thomas's role as a Barbados planter, merchant and chief agent for the Proprietary would have inhibited further diversification meanwhile. James had fewer commitments. CSPC, 1669-74, No. 721; "CFSC", p. 328.

⁵⁶CSCHS, p. 296.

⁵⁷Owen was Sir Peter's Deputy and therefore a Councillor. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 297. See Appendix E for a transcript of part of this report.

Crossing this letter came two from the Proprietary. The first, of 5 April, was a draft patent as Landgrave for Sir John Yeamans.⁵⁹ As both the draft, and later the signed patent, were issued after that of James Colleton it indicates some order of preference by the Proprietors in the choice of candidates for nobility, and perhaps government.⁶⁰ A replacement for the Governor was imminent in view of Sayle's age and health. Yeamans was never in favour with Ashley who had the same poor opinion of him as Governor Willoughby of Barbados.⁶¹ Both were justified on the basis of his record of poor leadership. Consideration must have been given to alternatives. James was to become Governor fifteen years later and would have been debarred by lack of experience for appointment in 1671 but he did have the qualification of a legal training at university and had been called to the Bar. The fact that other names such as Colonels Kingsland and Morris were favoured by people who knew the local potential, but were rejected by the Proprietors in favour of Yeamans, illustrates the lack of suitable options.⁶² Yeamans owed his forthcoming appointment, assumed at the end of 1671, to the recommendation of Sir Peter.⁶³

The second letter of 10 April 1671 was from Ashley to Sayle, now deceased, belatedly approving the Governor's change of mind in favour of basing the settlement at Charles Town (Albemarle Point) instead of Port Royal.⁶⁴ Ashley complained of Sayle's refusal to comply with instructions signed only by Sir Peter and himself. He confirmed the position of responsibility which had been accorded to them by Lord Berkeley in a very

⁵⁹CSPC, 1669-74, No. 484.

⁶⁰James Colleton's patent was issued on 15 March 1671.

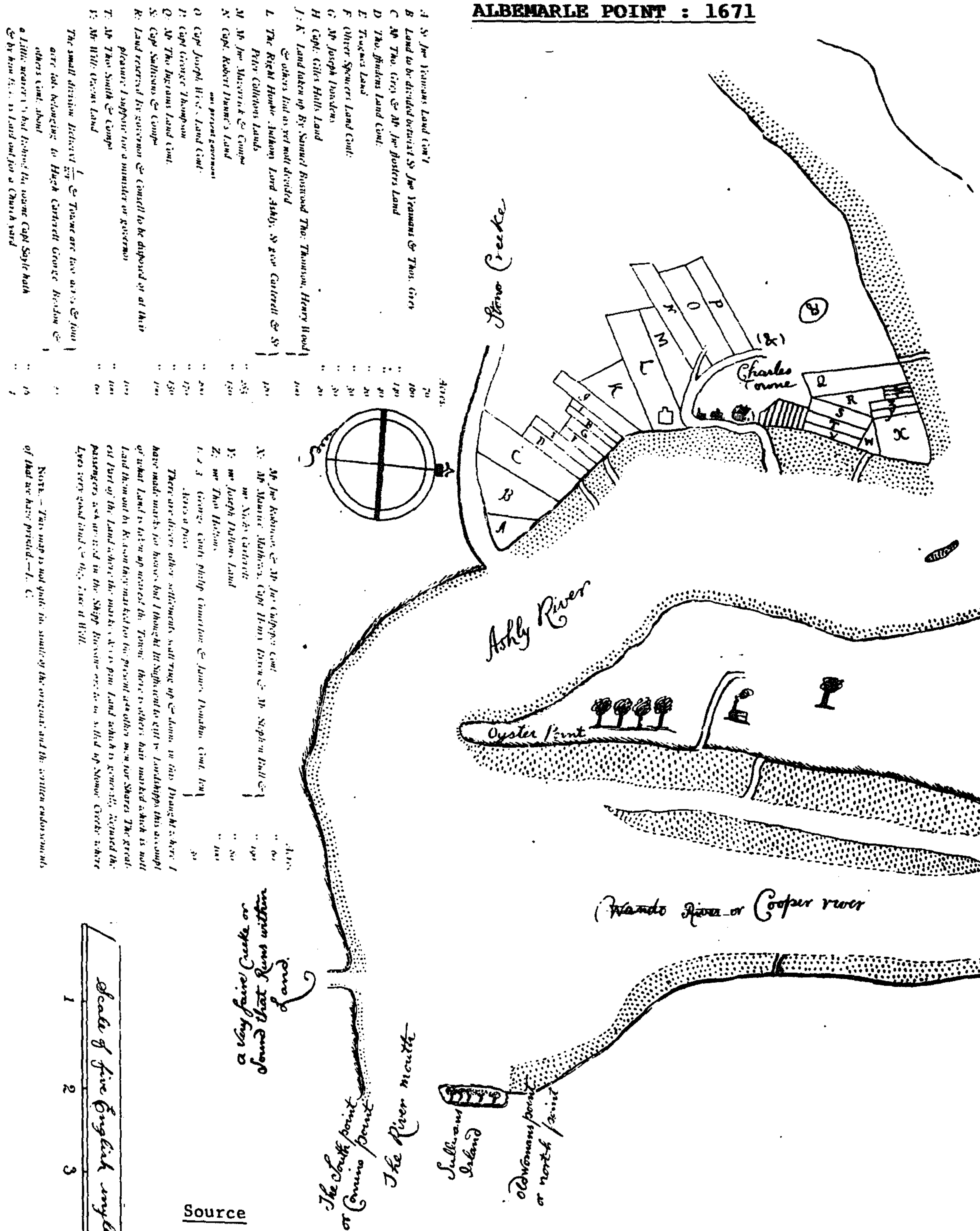
⁶¹For Ashley's view see CSPC, 1661-68, Nos 861, 864, 971, 1277. For Willoughby's similar view see *Ibid.*, Nos. 1520, 1804.

⁶²CSPC, 1669-74, p.278.

⁶³Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 252.

⁶⁴CSPC, 1669-74, No. 489.

ALBEMARLE POINT : 1671



Source

Culpeper's Map of the earliest settlements at Albemarle Point, Charles Town, showing land allocations in 1671. Part of frontispiece illustration Langdon Cheves, ed., "Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records", CSCHS. (See Abbreviations)

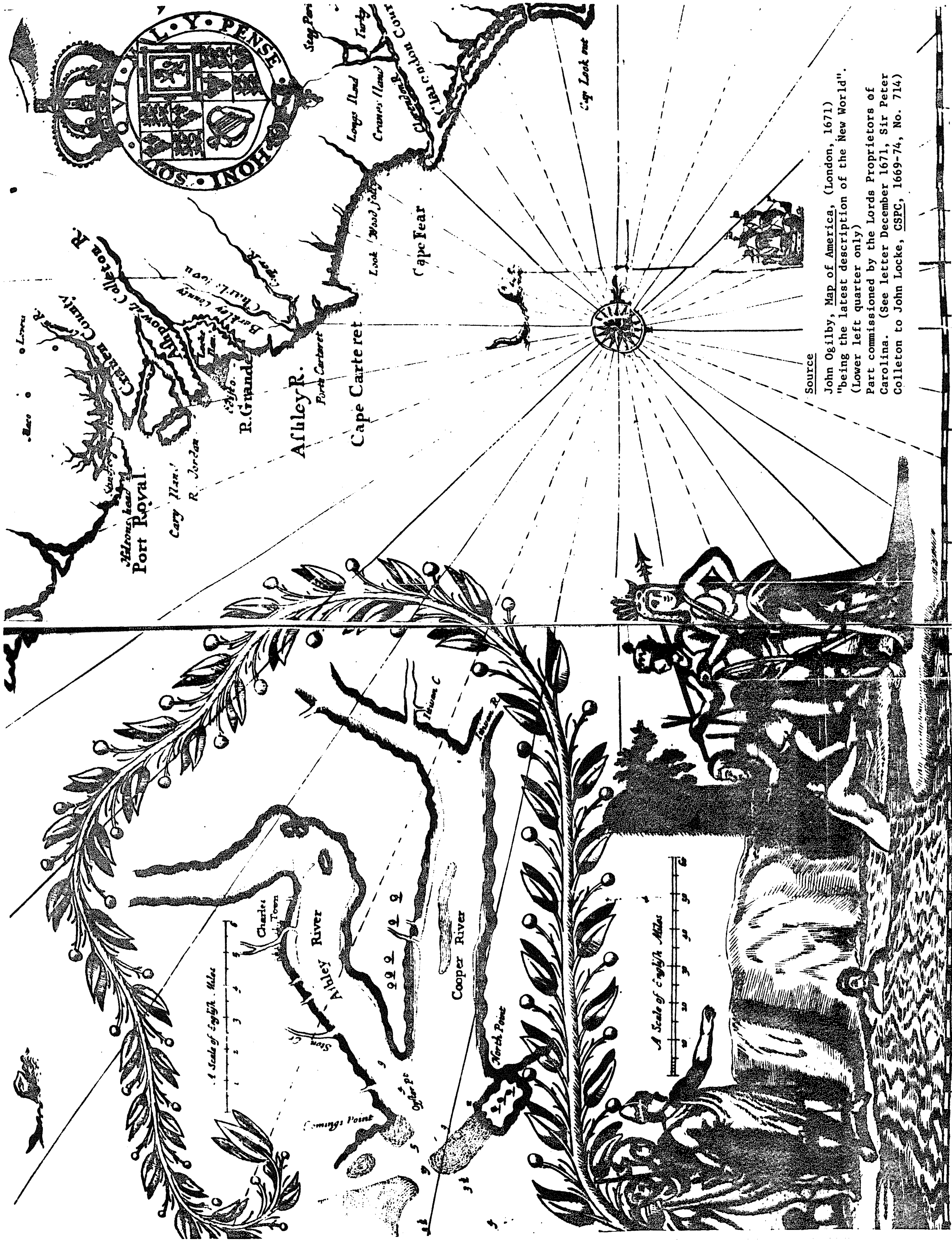
significant phrase, "we two having the great care of this business".⁶⁵ Thus Ashley himself confirmed and defined the importance of Sir Peter's role in the Carolina venture.

Ashley voiced his concern at the priority which had been given by the settlers to export shipments of their own timber in the *Carolina*. Sayle was told to observe his instructions carefully, especially the priority for security and settlement before the building of towns. Sayle's choice of a preacher, Sampson Bond, was agreed but not the authority for compulsory attendance; freedom of religion was a main constituent of the Fundamental Constitutions. Ashley took West's advice and on 27 April 1671 advised him that the joint landholding previously shared between Sir George Carteret, Sir Peter Colleton and himself would in future be the property of the Proprietary "to avoid confusion amongst ourselves".⁶⁶ He went on to emphasise the annoyance of the Proprietors over Brayne's failure to carry timber for them on his first resupply trip.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Sirmans makes a categoric statement that Sir Peter was never a close friend of either Locke or Ashley. There is no evidence that they were not, but some to the contrary. Sir Peter took a friendly step, even if it was only to discuss Carolina, by visiting Ashley in the Tower in November 1677 and 1678. Dunn makes reference to their friendship. An antagonistic but relevant comment on Sir Peter's relationship with Ashley was made by an anonymous member of the Barbados Council in 1683. "P. C.: lives in England viciously and under the conduct of my Lord Shaftesbury". (Ashley). The only evidence I can find of guardedness at that time was Ashley's reasonable warning to West in April 1671 to take care that Colleton did not take a commercial advantage of the Proprietors because of his Barbados trading links. Sirmans may have based his opinion on his statement that Sir Peter was in Barbados when the Fundamental Constitutions was written. He was not. He was in London as a co-Proprietor of Ashley. CSPC gives evidence of Colleton's continuous attendance at meetings in England with Ashley from July 1668 to June 1672 and with Locke from 1669. See 1661-68, Nos. 1580, 1804, 1841; 1669-74, Nos. 50, 128, p. 134, 357, 361, 413, 430, 482, 489, 510, 514, 515-9, 556, 558, 606, 615, 692, 712, 723, 782, 847, 858I and 867. See also CSC. p. 8n., "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in America", *WMQ*, Vol. XXVI (1969), p. 10; CSCHS, p. 317; CSPC, 1685-8, No. 2077.

⁶⁶See map on page 113. This is the unreferenced frontispiece map of Langdon Cheves in CSCHS. It may be a version of the Culpeper Draught. The initials below the annotations are presumably of Langdon Cheves. The details shown are appropriate for May 1671. Against letter 'M' is shown "Maverick & Company"; he was Thomas Colleton's overseer. See Appendix C and CSCHS, pp. 317, 318.

⁶⁷The *Carolina* returned finally to England about August 1671. *Ibid.*, p. 317n.



Source

John Ogilby, Map of America, (London, 1671)
"being the latest description of the New World".
(Lower left quarter only)
Part commissioned by the Lords Proprietors of
Carolina. (See letter December 1671, Sir Peter
Colleton to John Locke, CSPC, 1669-74, No. 714)

This omission obviously rankled. The Lords Proprietors had plainly discussed the trading benefits they had expected from their grant but obviously not in the presence of Peter Colleton who had very regularly attended their meetings for three years. The Lords Proprietors

are apprehensive that Sir P. Coll: may have advantage of us by his interest and mingling of trade with the Barbados. I expect you make noe words of this but that you keepe yourselfe steddly to the interest of the Lds and suffer not Sir P. Colleton to make either in your affair or any other of the affairs upon the publique stock in that place an advantage beyond the rest of the Lds to their prejudice. I did expect from you and doe still an account to be kept (and a copy thereof sent us from time to tyme) of our Stores to whome delivered and at what rates, that soe we may be repaid in worke timber or goods, as may best consist with the east of the planters. I must confess freely to you I have not been a little unsatisfied about it for a discouragement of that nature strikes at the very being of the plantation. For if we be not satisfied that we have faire dealeing we shall stop our supplying. Therefore pray let us have an exact and satisfactory account of every ship.⁶⁸

Ashley realised that by their enterprise the Colleton brothers stood to gain from the provision and carriage of goods in their ships plying between Carolina, Barbados and other colonies. Having financed the risk they were in a better position to enjoy the rewards than other Proprietors. Ashley must also have appreciated that the enterprise might fail without the backing of Thomas's commissariat, the Colleton sloop *Three Brothers* and the part-owned *John and Thomas*. Thomas had also been one of the Proprietor's sources of information about the deficiencies in return cargoes of timber. The use of private enterprise was the only possible way in which the colony could be developed. The Colleton's speciality was commercial expertise. They were expected to exercise their skills and deserved to do so. The growth of merchant adventurer interests in the great stock companies at this time illustrates the increasing importance which their practical contribution could make to England's imperial growth.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 317, 318.

Sir Peter was asked by John Ogilby, Cosmographer to the King, to obtain a map of Carolina. Ashley already had some details and Colleton a map of Port Royal. Locke was asked to obtain names for the physical features. Sir Peter was anxious to use the map to encourage settlement "without seeming to come from us". The South Carolina coastal section of Ogilby's subsequent work depicts the settlement area.⁶⁹

On 1 May 1671 the Lords Proprietors issued their "Carolina Instructions" which summoned freeholders to elect twenty representatives who, with the Proprietors' Deputies, would form the Legislative Assembly provided for in the Shaftesbury/Locke Fundamental Constitutions. The Palatine Court would choose a Governor. The Grand Council would be made up of five Assembly nominations, five Proprietors' Deputies and five of the oldest nobles. The Grand Council was temporarily abandoned within weeks of the publication of the Instructions until enough inhabitants arrived. The basis of land grants was outlined and the method of delineation. This instruction was also amended to reduce the amount of land allocated to Lords Proprietors and nobility. Proprietors of land which remained under-populated would be subject to a fine.⁷⁰ A town model was sent, but the location left to local choice and recommendations were solicited for the siting of a chief port. Defence against attack was approved, but relationships with the Indians were to be discreet and fair, a constantly recurring theme in the years to follow. James Carteret, son of the Lord Proprietor, Sir John Yeamans and John Locke received their formal appointments as Landgraves.⁷¹

Yeamans sailed belatedly to Carolina from Barbados in the spring of 1671 and as the senior noble of Carolina present in the colony, became deputy to the Palatine, Lord Berkeley. In West's view, as the Fundamental Constitutions had not been fully implemented, he was still the Governor

⁶⁹See page 115 and CSCHS, pp. 264, 265; CSPC, 1669-74, No. 714.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, No. 514.

⁷¹The appointment dates were two months after James Colleton's. The appointments are included in a list of others from 1671 to 1686 in CSPC, 1669-74, No. 721, without dates and out of sequence.

pending fresh instructions and would not give way. Meanwhile Yeamans lost no time in assuming the Barbadian and Anglican leadership and fomenting opposition to West.⁷² His commission from the Lords Proprietors was despatched to him on 21 August but it was not until the end of the year that he had taken over from the temporary Governor.⁷³

Meanwhile, Captain Halstead of the ship *Blessing* was ordered by the Proprietary to sail from London to Ashley River. He arrived on 14 August 1671 and off-loaded eight guns for coastal defence. He was instructed to load timber for sale in Barbados, obtain detailed accounts of expenditure and stores from Joseph West, review the fishing and Indian trade, reconcile the expenditure of 24,000 lbs of sugar drawn by West and Brayne against Thomas Colleton in Bermuda and review the soil and timber potential.⁷⁴ In addition he was to reconnoitre an upland site on a navigable part of the Ashley and Wando (Cooper) rivers for the setting out of a town. He was given a similar audit task in Barbados, to check Thomas Colleton's bills on the Proprietors. He soon altered the Proprietors route plan and quarreled with the Carolina Council, who imprisoned him briefly. After a series of trading visits he returned to London and the displeasure of his employers.

With such a penetrating brief it is not surprising that he fell out with the Carolina Council. The Proprietors had shown insensitivity by commissioning investigations into matters which should have been within the competence, experience and responsibility of their own local officials. This example once again demonstrated the need for an overall

⁷²His group included Gray and O'Sullivan from Barbados; also Owen, who went out from England in the *Carolina* to become Sir Peter's deputy, and Mathews, who became Ashley's deputy. Mathews, a Welshman, is described by J.M.Sosin, as one of a number of wealthy Barbadians and Sirmans also described him as Barbadian. Although he became a notorious leader of the Goose Creek group, he came out on the *Carolina* from England. In Barbados he transferred to the *Three Brothers* which started from Bridgetown and may account for the error about his origins. *Early Carolina*, p. 114n.; *English America*, p. 134 and CSC, p. 27.

⁷³CSPC, 1669-74, No. 606.

⁷⁴The Proprietary did not describe West as Governor and may not have been aware of Sayle's death.

representative of the Proprietary who would be answerable to them for all activities connected with the establishment of the colony and through whom investigations could be directed. It may have been a recognition of this deficiency which resulted in Sir Peter returning to Barbados in July or August 1672. Barbados was also in need of competent leadership during the prolonged absence of the Governor in London.

Sir Peter heard from his Deputy William Owen, in late 1671.⁷⁵ He advised Sir Peter that Ashley River abounded in salmon, trout and other fish and had tall cypresses on its banks. There were good prospects for the next harvest. Coming, Brayne's ex-mate on the *Carolina*, also had good news and advised Sir Peter that two hundred families were ready to move from New York. They had offered one-third of their cattle in payment for their passage on the *Blessing* and another one hundred ton ship, the *Phoenix*. He repeated a request of Brayne's for an additional ship of three hundred tons to transport people and cattle to Carolina which would then make the Barbados run with timber.

Coming made significant remarks about the role which the Barbadian settlers had assumed. They were summarised by Locke, "The Barbadians endeavour to rule all".⁷⁶ Coming illustrated and confirmed the Barbadian determination to prolong their historic struggle for disengagement from any non-Barbadian authority they could not control. Their continuing opposition has been specifically emphasised by recent historians who stress the power and influence of the later and predominantly Barbadian settlement at Goose Creek, about 25 miles upstream from the mouth of the Cooper River.⁷⁷ From the first landings the Barbadians gave little recognition to the rights of the Proprietors although Peter Colleton had enjoyed their support in his efforts on behalf of the planters and

⁷⁵CSPC, 1669-74, No. 664.

⁷⁶Peter H. Wood attributes this comment to John Locke, but it was Locke's note on a letter from Coming to Sir Peter and therefore has more significance. It is Locke's summarised version of the views of a primary witness. *Ibid.*, CSCHS, p. 347, and *Black Majority*, p. 24.

⁷⁷e. g., Sirmans, CSC, pp. 17, 18.

merchants of Barbados. Ironically, indulgence towards Barbados and opposition to direct rule from England had been the line his father had taken. Sir Peter's role as one of the two principal organisers of the new colony was invidious. His duty to uphold delegated Proprietary authority exercised by the Governor debarred him from support of a contrary faction and his strong association with Barbados made it harder to impose discipline; even his natural son Charles became part of the Goose Creek faction until his uncle James became Governor. The Barbadians had provided most of the skilled planter immigrants and their experience made an important contribution to the consolidation of the colony but due to a remote Proprietary and a weak first Governor, Palatine authority was never fully imposed.

In correspondence with Lord Ashley, Godfrey reported that Yeamans intended to stay in Carolina and had brought the first effective work force of slaves.⁷⁸ Eight servants had arrived for Sir Peter, and sixteen for the Lords Proprietor's plantation. Yeamans also wrote to Ashley to confirm that many rich Barbadians now wished to settle. He and his Barbadian colleagues intended to use their own ship, partly for their produce and requirements, but also to import supplies for sale to the community. This trade would operate in competition to Thomas Colleton and other independent merchant shippers. To protect the position of the Indians, threatened by rough justice from Yeamans and others, a new temporary law was imposed at the end of 1671 which forbade their enslavement or transportation out of Carolina.⁷⁹ The Proprietors, especially Peter Colleton, demonstrated increasing concern at their treatment and maintained a paternal and protective attitude until the end of the Proprietary, although they traded in slaves themselves from 1677. Ashley continued to disapprove of Yeamans' activities.⁸⁰ His record showed a lack of resolve in furthering corporate interests at critical moments. He had fostered a clique of Barbadian Anglicans contrary to the spirit of Ashley's

⁷⁸CSCHS, p. 349, and CSPC, 1669-74, No. 664.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, No. 713.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, Nos. 861, 864, 971, 1277.

declared religious liberality enshrined in the Fundamental Constitutions. His conduct was often dictated by self-interest and encouraged division rather than unity. Surprisingly, Sir John Colleton's early support of Yeamans was maintained by Sir Peter until the end of his governorship. Yeamans was sufficiently isolated to flaunt the policy of his Proprietary.

No current version of Ashley's Fundamental Constitutions for the government of Carolina received simultaneous acceptance on both sides of the Atlantic. The Proprietary deferred implementation of the first edition because the development of the colony was not sufficiently advanced to initiate it. Once the Proprietary had suspended the constitution successive revisions put the colony and the Proprietary out of step. The colony would either adopt a provisional constitution on which the Proprietors merely wanted a view, and subsequently revised, or they would not adopt a new version which the Proprietary wished to implement. The communication delay did not help and the settlers played off one version against another. In the early days the settlers had a preference for the ambiguities and more general terms of the royal charter which was not a constitution. A precedent was set for unpopular constitutional issues to become matters for debate, circumvention and prevarication. In any case the settlers were unsympathetic to Proprietary rule as a feudal form of government. They defied or ignored directives considered unsuitable. Later, when Ashley fell from royal office and the gulf between Carolina and London widened, the polarisation of interests led inevitably to the rejection of Proprietary influence.

By the end of 1671 Barbados had been fully established as the main provisioning base for Carolina and had begun to receive its first exports; Barbados was also a major supplier of manpower for the new colony. Thomas Colleton was clearly the chief outpost agent for the Proprietary and from 1668 Sir Peter acted with Ashley as the two organisers of the new colony. Ashley's significant comment, "We two having the great care of this business", was made in the critical period of formulating and

executing plans to sustain the transatlantic expedition.⁸¹ It is important for an accurate assessment of Sir Peter's role to correct the erroneous impression that he was in Barbados and out of touch with central policy making at this important juncture.⁸²

Peter Colleton and his relations continued their personal commitment for many years after Ashley had retired from the scene. His youngest brother James was the first ennobled planter, though not yet resident in the new colony.⁸³ The next phase of "build-up" in Carolina saw the development of agriculture and natural resources, the consolidation of land grants and the creation of a colony identity. Peter Colleton's influence and practical experience of agriculture and commerce was to be exercised from Barbados, close to the main activity. Governor Willoughby's absence in England had caused an undesirable vacuum on the island. Control over settler, and particularly Barbadian, aspirations in Carolina could be better exercised by a Proprietor in Barbados than from London and leadership in the island required strengthening.

In addition to his responsibilities in the Carolina and Bahamas Proprietaries Sir Peter was shortly to attend his first meeting in Barbados as President of the Council.⁸⁴ He was to miss the presence in the Caribbean of an old and colourful friend. Early in 1671 the King ordered Sir Thomas Lynch to send home under arrest Sir Thomas Modyford, after taking over the government and fortress of Jamaica, for "many depra-dations and hostilities against ... the Catholic King" (of Spain).⁸⁵ The colleague, kinsman and fellow West-countryman of Sir John Colleton and his son Peter was "to be made a prisoner and under a strong guard brought to his Majesty's presence to answer what shall be objected against him". His dealings with his "Admiral" Colonel Henry Morgan and his

⁸¹CSPC, 1664-74, No. 489.

⁸²CSC, p. 8n. The note is incorrect in this respect.

⁸³Appendix D.

⁸⁴He must have left England end of July or early August 1672. See CSPC, 1669-74, No. 939.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, Nos. 367, 452.

privateers had strengthened the security of Jamaica. They also gave him a permanent place in the story of the Spanish Main. The contribution of his administration to the economy of the island and maintenance of British interests in the Caribbean have not achieved the same notoriety.

CHAPTER 6

The Establishment of South Carolina

The period after consolidation until the end of the 1680's covers the crucial years for the establishment of the new settlement . The determination of the colony to pursue a measure of independence or to become submissive to the Proprietary was tested. With Shaftesbury's involuntary resignation of the Chancellorship and his imprisonment, more responsibility devolved upon Sir Peter at a time when he was not best placed to exercise it. In some choice phraseology Shaftesbury was to reveal to Sir Peter his anguish at the conduct of Governor Sir John Yeamans. During a visit to Barbados Colleton had to assume the temporary Governorship of the island from 1673-74 after a short Presidency of the Council . He was able to exercise some influence over peripheral events in Carolina without being able to participate fully in the affairs of the Proprietary, the Colony, the Hudson's Bay Company, or the Royal African Company until his return home. Although to some extent in limbo from colonial authority while abroad from 1672 to 1676, he was at the hub of transatlantic communications and trade with the American colonies. The Bahamas had his close attention while he assessed their economic potential and reported it to Locke.

James Colleton avoided trial for homicide in Barbados following his rarely recounted killing of a watchkeeper. The evidence gives some indication of his character and another perspective to his later conduct as Governor and defendant in a family lawsuit. Sir Peter was already conscious of the vacuum in Proprietary leadership and on his journey back to England probably visited South Carolina. He appreciated the need for the presence of a Proprietor, as had his brother Thomas earlier. In later years the Proprietary learned the lesson and appointed three Carolina Governors from their own membership . Two censuses, whose merit was unrecognised for centuries, were carried out in Barbados. The second was of great historical value and a model of the new colonial administration. Shortly after Sir Peter's final return to England, the brothers began their extensive territorial acquisitions, mostly well inland on excellent river communications in beautiful sylvan country bordering the lucrative Indian

trading areas. The population of Carolina was building rapidly in numbers and by 1680 whites reached 1,000 and slaves 200. An interest at home by religious leaders in the Christian instruction of slaves, especially by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, increased pressure to improve their way of life.¹ In 1678 the ageing but active seventy year old Lord Craven took over as Palatine from Shaftesbury to whom the colony owed much for his drive and determination to see them properly established.

After the outbreak of the Third Dutch War Governor William Willoughby of Barbados was still in London. On 13 June 1672 King Charles ordered him to return after an absence from his post of two years. His reluctance was due to ill-health rather than dereliction of duty. A further delay occurred while his commission was altered to restrict the duration of island laws, the authority of its legislature and the Governor's prerogative to fill official appointments. Willoughby finally arrived, still a sick man, in October 1672. In July he had written to dismiss Codrington, his deputy, for alleged 'vexatious impositions' on the islanders and appointed Sir Peter Colleton as President of the King's Council. Colleton held his first meeting on 17 September 1672. He made an early decision to obstruct the King's written appointment to his council of the regular army military commander, Sir Tobias Bridge, on the grounds that he was not a freeholder and was therefore debarred by the laws of Barbados. Colleton must have been sure of his ground and unafraid of the consequences to challenge royal authority so soon. Charles II demonstrated his intention to overrule any opposition by insisting on Bridge's appointment. He may have been moved partly by pique over the 1671 rejection of his sugar tax to help fund his shipbuilding programme. This had been largely Colleton's work on behalf of the islanders, but engineered behind the scenes by Ashley; an example of their close collaboration over the previous six years.²

¹See page 167.

²G.W. Cooke, *Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, 2 Vols., (London: Bentley, 1836), I, pp. 409-410.

Peter Colleton probably married Elizabeth Leslie or Lesley about 1672. She was the widow of William Johnstone and sister of Captain, later Colonel, John Leslie, all of Barbados.³ The militia rank of John Leslie infers that his family had some standing but neither Johnstone nor Leslie are listed in the 1673 census of principal planters. Both names are in the 1680 census, Captain Leslie as a troop leader of one of the two militia regiments of horse and Archibald Johnstone as a militia infantry company commander. Sir Peter's son John was not born until 1679, in England.⁴ He already had an illegitimate son, Charles, from an unspecified pre-1668 liaison.⁵

Shortly after Colleton's return to Barbados the charter for the successor to the debt-ridden Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa was issued. Colleton had inherited £1,800 stock from his father and was an Assistant (Director) at its court.⁶ Re-named the Royal African Company, it assumed a vast coastal area of Africa with limits from Tangier to the south of Angola. Sir Peter was joined by three other colleagues of the Carolina Proprietary. Two months after its formation, in November 1671, Ashley became sub-Governor to James, Duke of York.⁷ The earlier slave trading arrangements were to be continued, but as a monopoly.

³Elizabeth was probably the daughter of the rector of St John's Church, William Lesley. She had a daughter Elizabeth by her first husband; Katherine, Anne and John were her children by Sir Peter. Elizabeth assumed the name of Colleton, Katharine married Robert Richardson in Barbados and Anne married Earl Rivers.

⁴Vivian, and many imitators, gives the year of birth of John Colleton, Sir Peter's only legitimate son, as 1669. This is plainly wrong as guardians were appointed in Sir Peter's will of January 1694 (proved 24 April 1664), until he became 21. By mathematical deduction he could not have been born earlier than 1673. The likelihood is that John's birth date was 1679, making him 21 in 1700. William S. Powell has also deduced the same date. The inscription and stone on his tomb at Withycombe, Exmouth have been destroyed. See *Visitations*, p. 218, RB. 6/43, p. 33, H.F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, 2 vols, (Illinois, 1901), I, pp. 717-7); William S. Powell, *Proprietary of Carolina*, (Raleigh: North Carolina, 1968), p.10.

⁵Charles obtained a land grant of 500 acres in Carolina on 20 April 1686. This was at Fairsight, north west of Sir Peter's seignory at Fairlawn, where he raised six children, including Major Charles Colleton of the 1740 Oglethorpe expedition. CSPC, 1685-88, No. 631.

⁶HP:HC, 1660-90, II, p. 106.

⁷K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company*, (London, 1957), pp. 57-65, and CSPC, 1669-74, Nos. 934, 936.

Merchant investors predominated and after 1674 only seven per cent of the stock remained in courtier hands. The company was to concentrate on trade in commodities, especially in gold. By 1673 imports from the Guinea Coast totalled 50,000 guineas. A study of the known investments of Colleton and Ashley shows that they were similar. In Africa and the Americas they were involved in the same chartered companies and concessions. Neither had investments in the Levant or the great East India Company.⁸ They both saw transatlantic opportunities as the most likely to provide significant rewards. At this peak period of English colonial endeavour, they selected the Americas as the best option for their personal investment, offering rewards from trading and plantation most appropriate to Colleton's experience.

The steady build-up of Carolina's population continued, accompanied by a flow of written guidance from Ashley and Colleton. In January 1672 John Locke made notes for Ashley on a number of letters received from Carolina.⁹ Seventy people had arrived from Barbados and New York. The latter settled at James Town in the Ashley River estuary and six hundred were to follow, to avoid the taxation and hard winters of New England. They required an assurance that tobacco would be grown and exported tax free for a reasonable period. The Council had made a recommendation that Oyster Point, between the Ashley and Cooper river estuaries, would be fit to locate a port.¹⁰ Godfrey had moved to Sir Peter's plantation following the termination of the Proprietor's joint holding which he had previously managed.¹¹ Delays in correspondence of a severe handicap to proper supervision, especially at a time when deficiencies in leadership caused Ashley much concern. Colleton was now too remote in Barbados to offer reactive advice. The additional time for a letter from Barbados by

⁸K. G. Davies, "Joint Stock Investment in the late Seventeenth Century", *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser, Vol. IV [No. 3.] (1952), pp. 297, 298.

⁹CSPC, 1669-74, No. 746.

¹⁰It shortly became the new Charleston.

¹¹Culpeper's Map does not show the exact location of Sir Peter's first plantation. (See map page 113)

Carolina and a response back to the island was about eight weeks.¹² Ashley, now Earl of Shaftesbury, wrote to Sir Peter on 27 November 1672, ten days after his appointment as Lord Chancellor. He had also recently been appointed President of the Council for Trade and Plantations with responsibility for the colonies world-wide. Colleton had advised him of the good reputation of Carolina grown tobacco. Shaftesbury was optimistic about the future of the colony if it was not "strangled in its infancy by those into whose hands we committ it."¹³

Shaftesbury could see disaster ahead if Yeamans, recommended by both Sir Peter and Sir John, did not mend his ways. Yeamans had already been the recipient of a well-phrased warning letter from Shaftesbury, probably drafted by Locke.¹⁴ He expressed to Sir Peter his continuing apprehensions about the Barbadian tycoon,

For though I am willing to believe all that you say of Sir John Yeamans and to have as good an opinion of him as may be yet I must deale freely with you and tell you I cannot forsee what advantage wee shall receive from all those able parts you mention if he proceeds as he hath begunn and continue to buy up the peoples provisions at rates not very conscionable on the one hand and on the other sett all things there soe as to increase and continue our expense without any regard of stop or returne, which the people before he came thither had ingenuity enough to consider and were beginning to provide for. But hee noe sooner gott the Government into his hands but he turned it all quite another way. And whereas the people just before had made an act for repayment of their debts and their Addresses to us all looked that way since he came in we cann hear of nothing but wants and suplys.¹⁵

Colleton continued to defend the selection of this contrary man whom few respected. He had been in conflict with a number of the expeditionary party and was suspected of unjustly putting an Indian to death. On the

¹²Estimated from an analysis of correspondence dates, the timing of William Hilton's reconnaissances and *English Atlantic*, p. 4, but this was dependant on the frequency of sailings.

¹³CSCHS, p. 416.

¹⁴CSPC, 1669-74, No. 816.

¹⁵CSCHS, p. 416.

evidence of his earlier conduct during the reconnaissance and expeditionary phases he would be a liability and almost certain to hazard the success of the settlement. The suspicion remains that Peter Colleton felt he owed a family debt for the death by duel of Yeaman's son at the hands of his brother John.¹⁶ Shaftesbury's tirade continued, to the extent of threatening another duel.¹⁷

If to convert all things to his present private profitt be the marke of able parts, Sir John is without doubt a very judicious man.... Unless theise things be cured, and I finde that care of us and the plantations be in earnest minded I shall not have patience quietly to sitt still and look on whilst the Collony is destroyed and should it fall by his perverse and indirect management the Indignation of haveing a design of soe faire hopes and soe greate consequence on which I had sett my minde ruined by his covetousnesse or ambition *will make me endeavour to reach him and require sattisfaction in the remotest parts of the world.*¹⁸

The importance of obtaining quick corrective action if Yeamans was being perverse was obvious. However provocative his conduct may have been, Shaftesbury was hardly in a position to control events. The importance of having a trustworthy governor to deal with remote circumstances was vital. Shaftesbury's anxiety led him to display strong emotions when he suspected a threat to "My Darling" Carolina but he could not justifiably claim an exclusive affinity with the colony, especially not to the Colletons.

For in this which is my Darling and wherein I am entrusted alsoe by others I cannot suffer myselfe and them to be injured by anybody without great resentment which I have discoursed thus plainly to you because I take you to be a friend to us both, and I desire to be soe to Sir John Yeamans as soone as by an easye turne of himselfe and his taking care of our and the publicke concernment there he shall give me occasion.¹⁹

¹⁶In July 1674, after Shaftesbury's fall, Sir Peter advised Locke of the reasons for his advocacy, or as much as he wished the Proprietors to know (See page 140)

¹⁷Lady Yeamans was the widow of Benjamin Berringer, a victim of Sir John by duel or poisoning in Barbados. P. F. Campbell, ed., *Chapters in Barbados History*, (BMHS, 1986) pp. 49-60.

¹⁸CSCHS, p. 416.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

Even if Shaftesbury expressed his interest in effusive terms it would be difficult to accept the view of Langdon Cheves in commenting on this letter that Shaftesbury was "indeed the founder and leading spirit" of the settlement if by "founder" he included responsibility for the 1670 landing.²⁰ Sir John and Sir Peter had a better claim to be founders. They created and sustained interest at home and in the Caribbean between 1660 and 1670. There is no doubt that Shaftesbury was the motivating force after he had assumed personal control of the venture at the time of Sir John's death in 1667. For political reasons Shaftesbury's absolute control was spasmodic after his committal in 1673. His direction was less effective after the loss of his secondary offices from 1674. This was particularly evident in the 1680s until his flight from England in 1682. Peter Colleton was the one consistent factor in the leadership throughout most of the second half of the 17th century from 1660 to 1694. Unlike Craven, who survived all the original Proprietors, he had a life-long and personal commitment. This frank letter was almost devoid of Ashley's often excessive platitudes.²¹ However, he alluded to his friendship for Colleton.²² Their rapport was strong enough to permit frank comments by Ashley on the disruptive behaviour of Barbadians. His view may have been coloured by adverse reports of their conduct in Carolina. His own experience of the island was thirty-five years out of date. Alternatively his comments may have reflected his knowledge of enterprising Barbadian traders, of whom Thomas Colleton was one, and Shaftesbury's suspicion that they were taking a commercial advantage against the Proprietary interest.

I know I shall not need to say I desire it where both your word and interest ingadge you to it. I take this for granted and only desire you to take what care you can that this trade

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 417n.

²¹To Colleton he often exceeded the contemporary forms of address which included "Your affectionate friends" (Proprietors to most addressees), "My honoured friend" (P. Colleton to Locke), "Your faithfull friend and servant" (*Idem*), "My deare friend" (*Idem*), "Very affectionate friend" (Shaftesbury to P. Colleton). See *Ibid.*, p. 164 et seq.

²²Without evidence, close friendship is dismissed by Sirmans "Never a close friend". CSC, p. 8n, but see p. 114n.

which I am very chary of and upon which depends the good and settlement of those Islands be not disturbed by any people from Barbados.²³

If Shaftesbury did not fear agitation by Barbadians his implication was that they would upset the stability of New Providence in the new Bahamian Proprietary. He saw them as a threat to his plans both commercially and in terms of law and order. By implication he gave Peter Colleton the credit for not being one of them. Shaftesbury's strictures may have reached Sir Peter before he wrote to Locke on 3 March 1673 from Barbados.²⁴ This informative letter is rarely cited and is quoted almost in full because it reveals the nature of the personal relationship between Colleton and Locke; and Sir Peter's continual interest in commercial opportunity, the very basis of colonial enterprise. Colleton saw little profit in Brasiletto trade with the Bahamas unless a monopoly could be achieved by cornering the market.

I sent you a jar of this country's tar and a pot of tarara root, which I hope came safe to your hands. Since then is arrived here the Bahama merchant whom Captain Darrell has luckily sent here to seek a freight and I hope he will make upwards of £1,000 freight of what he takes in here. I find the people improvident. We did not (as well?) brook the adventurers being jealous but what great profit this trade will bring into us I must confess I cannot see, unless you can set up the whale fishery and that turn to account or that by having all the Brasiletto wood in your hands you can raise the price of that and whether that will do it you may easily be informed, if you enquire amongst the Dyers whether Brasiletto be of absolute necessity for the dyeing of any colour or whether only to help when logwood is dear.²⁵ For if it be only used in that case, or as I am informed ground and mingled with logwood by the salter to cheat the dyer, the price is not like to rise. For the English, having found the way to cut logwood

²³Shaftesbury to Colleton, 27 April 1671, *CSCHS*, p. 317.

²⁴Colleton to Locke, 3 March 1673, Lovelace MSS, C 6, ff. 215-216, Bodleian Library. In my opinion the best communications from Peter Colleton to John Locke are his untranscribed letters in the Lovelace MSS of 3 March 1673 and especially of 22 July 1674, p.140 below.

²⁵Brasiletto wood is similar to Jamaica wood and yields an orange colour used in cloth dyeing; logwood extract (greenish colour, but dries 'ink black') was used for colouring and dyeing, and the development of base colours in leather, especially calf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (London, 1969), Vol IV, p. 133, see under 'Brazilwood', Vol VII, p. 556, see under 'Logwood'.

themselves, which was formerly only done by the Spaniard in the uninhabited places about the Bay of Campeache, have reduced the price of that wood from £60 per ton to under £20 as I am informed. It ought also to be enquired whether there comes no Brasiletto wood, but from the Bahama Islands for if there are, you shall no sooner raise your price but the market will be cloyed with that wood from other places.

Colleton broached a prospect for what appeared to be a clandestine operation outside the terms of the Navigation Acts, for Locke's private benefit.

Darrell gives me some hints in his letter of hopes of a private trade with the Spaniards and refers me to hasten for further information, but he can tell me nothing. If you can be effected something great may be done with wise management, *but you must be secret in it*. If you fall upon a plantation in my opinion you will lose your stock for besides the disadvantage that country has by the nature of its (soil?) compared with the other English settlements. I never yet knew any man that settled a plantation by the management of any other but himself that ever saw his money again. If I judge right in what I have written I shall have the reputation to have foreseen what came to pass, if I mistake and the trade proves profitable I shall get my share. Darrell has the reputation of a cunning (illegible) amongst his countrymen and you ought to have a strict eye upon him.

Colleton advised clearly against plantation investment but expected to make a private profit from trade. He saw no duplicity in his intentions, which were mainly to avoid competition, or he would not have mentioned them to Locke. Naturally, as Colleton would have expected, Locke immediately reported the proposal to Shaftesbury who took a very different view of his intentions and assumed that Sir Peter was giving his own advantage priority over Proprietary commitments.²⁶ Sir Peter continued with a report on the situation in Carolina,

The want of the supply of clothes and tools desired might be sent to Carolina when I left England has been much felt there, to which has been added a great want of victuals occasioned by miscarriage of their supplies from abroad which has made them suffer much misery. Insomuch that two of the Council and the Surveyor General have run away, by which you may see what great reason the Lord Proprietors

²⁶CSCHS, p. 317, page 146 below.

have to ascribe who shall have the disposal of the offices since men run from them. We intend to persuade Andrew Norwood of Bermudas to go there and take the office upon him. He is an ingenious man and I shall endeavour to make him understand the drift of the Lords as to laying out the country. I find all men that are come from there to agree that the country is extremely healthy and pleasant and the understanding planters say it is very fertile, but *better further up than where they are settled which is near the barren sands of the sea shore*. I am very sure that if we overcome the want of victuals, all the English planters northwards will come into us, for in New England the greatest of the summer labour of the husbandman is spent to grow fodder to keep his cattle alive in the winter. It is the same at New York and in Virginia and Maryland where they are not so careful in doing it. They lost above two-thirds of their cattle last winter whereas the cattle of Carolina were beef all the while and *will never need to be foddered*. *An advantage added to our being able to produce many commodities that they cannot, and all their own, cheaper than they can, must for them in time all to come to us*. And that this hopeful country may not be lost and that that *excellent form of Government in the composure of which you had so great a hand* may speedily come to be put in practice. I earnestly desire you to solicit my Lord Chancellor that the supply of clothes and tools may be sent them together with 1,000 bushels of pease I have written about which may put them past want of victuals any more and about £600 will effect it.²⁷

This detailed account gives a clear and objective summary of benefits, conditions and requirements in the new colony. Colleton's comment about Locke's contribution to the Fundamental's Constitutions is of special relevance. Sir Peter was in London during its composition. Locke joined Shaftesbury at Proprietary meetings in 1669. Colleton also attended meetings at which all three were present continuously from then until mid-1672. Colleton's letter implies that Locke's part in composition or editing was a major one.²⁸ It is more than likely that Sir Peter's own views had been sought as one of the originators of the "Barbados

²⁷Colleton to Locke, 3 March 1673, Lovelace MSS, C 6, ff. 215-216.

²⁸Daniel Defoe also had a view. He wrote, "These Constitutions I know ... to be the Contrivance of the old Earl of S---bury; but I have very good authority, to assure the World Mr Lock(e) had the Right of Parentage...." See A. J. Salley, ed., "Part Tyranny", *Early Carolina*, p. 232.

Proposals" of 12 August 1663 for the government of Carolina.²⁹ Colleton sent a covering letter to Locke, also of 3 March 1673, with more optimistic news from Carolina.³⁰

The last week I received a letter from Col. West of Carolina, by whom, and from some come from there, I am informed the people there have at length quite mastered the want of grain which the next year will infallibly complete and I hope they will shortly be also in a good condition. As to the other sorts of provisions, and then and not before, they will be able to make trial what commodities that country will produce. For men have little heart to try experiments whilst they are in fear of being starved and they want clothes and tools extremely, for want of which I have written to my Lord Chancellor about it to put him in mind of it. Less than £250 will do it and this will be the last in my opinion they will need. They continue still extreme healthy and have lately made new discoveries of new rivers, the best of which was one side of Locke Island.³¹ I have sent West's letter to my Lord, by which you may be informed more at length."³²

Colleton's mention of experiments with other forms of produce refers to an early instruction to West. The Proprietors had not perhaps appreciated that the planting of survival crops took all the available time of new settlers.³³ More sophisticated trials could follow in the 1674 season. As a planter Colleton appreciated the substantial time required to establish a basic agrarian economy after the first sowings of 1670.

Sir Peter's immediate attention was diverted from Carolina by events in Barbados. In December 1672 Willoughby had made a last and successful attempt against the Dutch in Tobago, using Bridge's troops. In spite of offering Tobago to Barbados as a gift, he was unable to attract settlement from Barbados. The planters were distracted by the recent loss of a sugar fleet from naval action and severe fire damage to their reserve of supplies in St Michaels Town (Bridgetown). Willoughby's ill health turned his mind

²⁹CSCHS, p. 10..

³⁰*Ibid.* f. 213.

³¹This was the Colleton (later the Edisto) River, which became the boundary between Berkeley and Colleton Counties. Locke Island is now called Edisto Island.

³²CSCHS, p. 213.

³³See Appendix E.

towards finding a temporary successor. He no longer thought ill of Peter Colleton. Five years earlier he had disparaged both father and son but he included him first in a list of personal friends in a new will which was signed on 31 March 1673,³⁴ giving Sir Peter his professional title of barrister.³⁵

Ten days later Willoughby died. At a meeting of 28 May 1673 the Council confirmed that they had taken over the administration, subject to His Majesty's pleasure, and elected Sir Peter as their President and Commander-in-Chief. They also made a full report to the Council of Trade and Plantations on the poor condition of the economy and defence of the island. It reflected, unsurprisingly, Sir Peter's own and often repeated concerns. On the same day the Council forwarded a census of the island taken from list compiled before Willoughby's death and is now associated with Sir Peter Colleton.³⁶ It gave the population as 21,000 whites and 33,000 blacks. In the opinion of the Council the blacks actually totalled 44,000 and were understated by one-third. Rumour among the planters had suggested that the census was to be taken to assess a tax on negroes, hence the discrepancy caused by the concealment of 11,000 of their number. The most eminent planters were listed. Their acreages show obvious signs of 'rounding' to the nearest 100 acres. The totals shown for Sir Peter and Thomas Colleton respectively are an under-rounding of 700 and the introduction of a spurious figure of 500. Richard Dunn has questioned the decline of Sir Peter's plantation from 700 acres to 425 acres during the intervening years up to 1680 when the Atkins census was issued and excluded the spurious 500 acres, a fall in size from what would have been the largest family plantation in Barbados to one of more

³⁴RB 6/8, p. 481.

³⁵I have been unable to trace any evidence of formal legal training or of his being called to the English bar. The Barbados Court of Chancery was established in October 1672, as a quorum of the Council. It included Sir Peter, without any apparent requirement for legal qualifications. RB 6/8, p. 482, and *JBMHS*, Vol. XI, p. 61.

³⁶CSPC, 1669-74, No. 1101.

moderate size.³⁷ The simple explanation is that the total of Colleton ownership never exceeded about 760 acres with approximately 450 acres in St John's and 310 acres in St Peter/St Lucy. The Atkins census only showed the managed property in St John's and attributed it to Sir Peter. The Leeward property, managed and a quarter owned by Rolleston, is not included. Double recording of St John's must have taken place in 1673 as no major disposals in either Colleton plantation occurred until 1807 when the Leeward Plantation was sold.³⁸ This may have been deliberate in order to give Thomas Colleton a freeholder qualification in St John's by virtue of the plantation he managed but did not own. The over assessment equates to its acreage.³⁹

In the election of 1675/6 Thomas Colleton was debarred from sitting as one of two members for St John's.⁴⁰ As Sheriff, Sir Peter returned a writ asking the Governor and Council for a division in view of doubt as to the validity of Thomas's status either because of his qualifications or those of his electors. Thomas was later returned for one of the two St John's seats in 1678/9 and again in 1679/80, by which time he had either secured enough qualified freeholder votes or personal acreage.⁴¹ The

³⁷"The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America", *WMQ*, Vol XXVI (1969), p. 11, CSPC 1677-80, No. 1336, SP, 30/24, Bundle 49/3.

³⁸Sold to Charles Cadogan for £14,600. The sale included 340 acres and 48 negroes.

³⁹This is confirmed by the records of land holdings in HHA (D/4), Appendices A and L, PRO, CO 28/4, ff. 52, 53, and RB 3/20. 160.

Another possibility is that Peter felt it proper to record the whole estate against his name in 1673. It was in the hands of Sir John's trustees. He enjoyed all the income until it became vested in the beneficiaries in 1688, twenty one years after Sir John's death. He may have felt it equally proper for Thomas also to claim qualification for the 500 acres, including some leased land, which he managed. When Thomas's qualification was challenged there was no similar threat to Sir Peter's status.

⁴⁰*JBMHS*, Vol. XI, p. 103 (continued from Vol. X, No. 4, (August 1943), p. 187.)

⁴¹The other member returned from St John's in these years was Colonel Christopher Codrington, the objector in the dispute. The 1679 parish census lists show Thomas as having acquired ten acres in St Philip's possibly by transfer to him of other non-trust family land, which would have given him freeholder status. He had also acquired 15 acres in St George's and ten acres from Sir Peter in St John's. *Ibid.*, p. 105, SP, 30/24, Bundle 49/3; RB3/9.259.

acreages in the 1673 census reveal that the largest plantation in Barbados was owned by John Pierce (1,000 acres), followed by Major R Haskett (900), John Waterman (800), Henry Drax (800) and the Colleton Trust (an understated 700) had the fifth largest plantation.⁴²

Sir Peter's estate management of his Barbadian interests had to take second place to his concern to find a suitable and speedy replacement as Governor. He wrote on 28 May 1673 to Mr Slingsby, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.⁴³ The island government, "to avoid confusion have made choice of me as their President". He was anxious about his ability to control such a boisterous collection of planters until His Majesty's pleasure was known,

I hope to keep this place in a quiet and safe posture until that time, but I humbly and earnestly desire you to use your endeavours that some speedy care be taken for I have a very troublesome task to keep eleven men without check in order, who reckon themselves in equal power and are not so well qualified for government....I hope that you will stand by us at this juncture and gett us a good Governor and one that will have regard to the preservation of the place as well as his particular profit, which is undoubtedly His Majesty's interest and that of the nation.

He might have been even more doubtful of his ability to govern if he had know that his relief would not arrive for eighteen months. The Lords Commissioners and the King were happy to accept his appointment and made no suggestion of a change. Sir Peter promoted the idea of a planter governor as Willoughby's successor, something the Barbadians had long sought. He must have been at the top of the short list himself and by chance was already deputising; but he had no wish for the post.

I continue still of opinion that a man that hath an interest upon the place will be more certain to do that than any man that hath not and also be more punctual in observance of the Acts of Trade and Navigation than a man sent from England.... for a reward for past services or through present favour which may take him apt to hope how shall be wincked

⁴²In terms of family acreages, the Codringtons would have been in second place (Colonel 600 and Captain 300) after John Pierce.

⁴³PRO, CO 389/5, ff. 152/3.

at if for his particular profit sake he broakes them (the Acts) which the other will never dare do, specially if he have an estate also in England. Other than such I will never advise to be trusted.

Sir Peter used the occasion to show that no public funds were available for the Governor's salary due to the remittance home of all of the 4 1/2% tax. Expenses could only be met by the raising of a special tax.

The Lord Willoughby before he dyed did often affirm that his setting out and his expenses the first six months of his Government cost him more than £2,500 which I do verily believe to be true and the people here gave him not a gross (?) nor had they anything to give without raising a particular tax for it ... so that unless the King will assist them out of the 4 1/2% I cannot well see how they can govern through with their publick charge...

Colleton's second letter of 28 May was to John Locke about Carolina affairs. One of the missing ingredients in the early settlement period was the presence of any member of the Proprietary who could have given impartial leadership and justice. Peter Colleton, like his brother Thomas, who had sought authority to appoint governors, appreciated this deficiency. He wrote in the aftermath of Willoughby's death and the shipment of his body to London five days earlier:

I have been long expecting to hear newes from you from Newingland, & my lord Willoughby & I had projects of taking Carolina in our way & viziting of you there, but it hath pleased God to dispose things otherwise, he is dead, you I understand in imployment in England, & I tyed by the legg with an office here, untill his majesty please to release mee.⁴⁴

Willoughby's death, Colleton's Presidency of the Council and Locke's full diary and forthcoming Secretaryship to the Council for Trade and Plantations made this sensible but overdue plan impossible.⁴⁵ It revealed the intention for the first time and recognised the need for a presence. The proposal has been scarcely mentioned in recent histories but it was

⁴⁴CSCHS, pp. 422-424.

⁴⁵Locke became Secretary of the Council on 14 October 1673 at an annual salary of £500, and Treasurer at £1,000 from 9 November 1673. He became a Lord Commissioner twenty-two years later, after retirement to Holland following Shaftesbury's death. CSPC, 1669-74, Nos. 1151; *Ibid.*, No. 1162.

an acknowledgment of a significant deficiency in leadership which could have resolved the early constitutional, commercial and disciplinary problems. Three Proprietors visited or settled in the colony as Governors of the twenty-five appointed before 1737. All three were secondary Proprietors by purchase.⁴⁶ All were from England and one, Seth Sothel, a dissident influence. None of the original Proprietors visited or took office in Carolina and of their descendants only the Colletons offered leadership to Carolina or settled permanently in the colony.⁴⁷

The immediate prospects in Carolina were good and Colleton continued his letter optimistically:

Our friends in Carolina sing the same song they did from the beginning, a very healthy, a very pleasant & fertill country, but great want of victuall, cloathes, & tools, & I am of opinion the 2 last ought to be sent them, one suply more of that kind would bee enough, victuall they will be sufficiently furnished with this year never to want more, & if wee should omit the other two wee may run a hazzard of loozing all the mony we have been out, for after Barbados had been setled 6 years, the people who were then upwards of 600 men were leaving of it in a humour, & you see what this Island is come to, & no doubt if wee hould our ground *but Carolina will excell all other English plantations.*

Sir Peter's reference to early Barbadian history was intended to encourage commitment to Carolina by his fellow Proprietors. He ended by giving Locke the benefit of his experience as a planter and reinforced his earlier views on prospects for the Bahamas:

I find I am your partner in the Bahama trade which will turne to accomp if you meddle not with planting, but if you plant otherwise then for provision for your factor you will have your whole stock drowned in plantation & bee never the better for it, planting is my trade & I thinke I may without vanity say I understand it as well as most men, & I am sure I

⁴⁶These were Sothel, two years, Archdale, two years, and his heir and nominee Blake, four years. Of the twenty-eight terms of office between 1670 and 1725, West served for three (ten years in all), Morton two and Horsey never arrived. The total Proprietary commitment over sixty-five years was three Proprietor Governors with only eight years' service between them.

⁴⁷These were James Colleton, Governor 1686-1690, and the descendants of Sir Peter Colleton's sons.

deceived in this particular, if other men will plant there, I mean the Bahamas hinder them not they improve our province, but I would neither have you nor my lord ingadge in it, I can give reasons I am sure will sattisfye you.

If the Bahamas were a problem there were also pressing difficulties in Barbados. The island had a large public debt and, as Colleton was well aware, her defences were in a parlous state. With no likelihood of an redress to the appeals by the Council the planters decided on a course of passive resistance. Sir Peter's request for a planter Governor was ignored. Sir Jonathan Atkins, a courtier and career administrator, was appointed in March 1673 with Sir Peter nominated by the King as a continuing member of Council. Atkins immediately demonstrated his sympathy for the planters by appealing for a remission of the 4 ¹/₂% levy before he left England. He had an eye to his future position in Barbados where his physical well-being would depend on planter goodwill. He eventually arrived on 1 November 1674 with the determination, nevertheless, to uphold the King's authority in his own peculiar style. Before he did so, Sir Peter wrote to Locke about the recent fall from grace of Lord Ashley. Having supported the anti-Catholic Test Act which debarred the Duke of York, among other Catholics, from public office, Shaftesbury's demise was inevitable and likely to affect seriously the resolve of the Proprietary. The same year, on 9 November 1673, he was "permitted" to resign his office as Lord Chancellor.⁴⁸ His Council for Trade and Plantations was abolished in 1674 and the work taken over by the Lords of Trade. As a Committee of the Privy Council it permitted direct royal control of the colonies. News reached Barbados before Locke could inform Colleton, who wrote from Barbados on 22 July 1674:

We have been sufficiently informed here of the great love and esteem the people in general have for the Earl of

⁴⁸In spite of Shaftesbury's fall he continued to play a leading but more spasmodic role in Carolina affairs. After the Proprietary meeting of 21 June 1674 to approve temporary agrarian laws for Carolina no names of attenders are shown in CSPC, perhaps due to Secretary Locke's visit to France for three years from 1675.

Shaftesbury went to the Tower in November 1677, but apparently signed no Proprietary documents after 29 January 1677. After his release in late 1678 his name appears in Proprietary papers from 19 February 1679, but the other Proprietor's attendances are not recorded in CSPC until 1680.

Shaftesbury, nor has his courage, industry and care for the good of the nation outgone my expectation. I confess I am amazed at the variety of news I have received from England and I am like a man who sees people dancing at a distance and not hearing the music, wonders what they are doing. When I heard of the disasters of our statesmen, I fancied my Lord of Shaftesbury like a man who had gotten to the upper round of a ladder and those who were next to him were endeavouring to break the round on which he stood. Upon which he (asked?) to quit his station upon condition he might have liberty to go down himself. But as soon as he is safe upon the ground, falls a shaking the ladder and brings all the rest down headlong. I am glad to hear there is a supply of clothes and tools gone to Carolina and I hope ammunition is not forgotten. This will establish the settlement for they have at length mastered the want of victuals.⁴⁹

Colleton continued with an apologia for Yeamans, virtually a reply to Shaftesbury's emotional letter of 27 November 1672 in which he had threatened to pursue Yeamans to the ends of the earth.

I am sorry to hear Yeamans is out of the Government, for his family is *a sixth part of the whole colony and his cattle a third of the whole flock of Carolina*.⁵⁰ I have been informed of his selling rum and molasses to poor people for their provisions at extravagant rates: and debited him for it but by what I have heard since am at a stand whether to impute it to covetousness or to great wisdom and foresight for people by their want have been made good husbands. I am informed by Mr Smith who is now with me that the same man afterwards gave feed corn gratis to all that wanted and distributed provisions that he had sent for from Virginia to those in distress and required but the same quantity again when they had produced it from their own labours, though they offered him three for one, saying he came not there to traffic.⁵¹ And though he made vastly (inadequate?) propositions to the Lords (Proprietors) I judge them rather to proceed from a design to busy up the people's spirits with hopes of vast supplies and thereby win them to patience (who were under all the discouragement that want of victuals, clothes and tools

⁴⁹Peter Colleton to Locke, 22 July 1674, Lovelace MSS., C6, ff. 217,218.

⁵⁰His family is taken to include his whole entourage. His ownership of one-third of the Carolina flock was a remarkable proportion. Yeamans did everything in style! He even had cattle herded from Virginia.

⁵¹Either Landgrave Thomas Smith, Governor 1693-94, or John Smith, Carolina Deputy and Merchant.

The supplies were imported by Yeamans on the Proprietors account and sold on credit to settlers. CSC, p. 29.

could give, and in despair of being supplied were ready to quit the colony). Then any hopes he had the cords would undo them. However, if he quit not the colony in discontent all is well enough. One damned fault he has he fails to put pen to paper and thereby leaving people dissatisfied. I have had but one letter from him since I came hither by the enclosed to my brother James. You will perceive he had put the people upon planting to (illegible) for the payment of the proprietors. This letter Smith brought who was coming out of Carolina in company of Lady Yeamans in February whose vessel could not get over the bar the wind beating upon her is cast anchor within. That which Smith was in, being out before, stood away, and was taken by a (pirate?), who plundered them but restored the vessel. The Lady Yeamans is not since heard of. In her vessel were my letters and those to the proprietors.

This letter confirms the fact that Yeamans had already resigned as Governor of Carolina by 22 July 1674. He died in Carolina. Some accounts report him dying in office or in Barbados.⁵² West was appointed Governor by the Council on 13 August 1674, subject to the Proprietors' approval. Meanwhile the Proprietors had already despatched an appointment to West elevating him from Cassique to Landgrave, with a view to making him Governor. They were no longer prepared to support Yeamans or condone his irrational conduct.

I have sent a pot of Tarrara root to Colonel Thornburgh for you.⁵³ The pot has a wooden cover fitted so it is covered all over in pitch, and canvass over that which will keep out the rats as I conceive. I have never seen any of it dried nor do I know whether it will that way be preferred. One thing I must observe to you of it is that the juice taken in a great quantity at a time and so long continued, is supposed has inclined some people to a palsy but has gone again upon discontinuance.

⁵²Sirmans states that he died in office (CSC, p. 29). Colleton's letter makes it plain he had resigned before his death. Agnes Baldwin reports his death as August 1674, which would fit. See *First Settlers of South Carolina, 1670-80*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), unpaginated. Andrews said he died in Charles Town between 3 and 13 August. *Colonial Period*, p. 230n.

His widow Margaret married as her third husband William Whalley of St Peter, Barbados and was living there in 1677. See E. M. Shilstone, "Nicholas Plantation and some of its Associations", *Chapters in Barbados History*, (BMHS, 1986), p. 52.

⁵³Colonel Thornburgh was Sir Peter's friend, agent and attorney, first in Barbados, then while a merchant in London. He was a guardian and proxy during his son John's minority. See Sir Peter's will, Appendix H.

I approve of the Articles signed by the Lords Proprietors and will either come speedily myself and sign them or empower Colonel Thornburgh who writes me he will pay in my money when demanded. When I go hence *I intend to take Carolina in my way to England*. Several inhabitants of this place say they will go there. Our having intent if they like the place to transport their families to it.

I am just now informed that the juice of the Tarrara root applied new gives instant ease to the gout.

Sir Peter's reiteration of his intention to visit Carolina during his return voyage to England makes the possibility a strong one, but unfortunately there is no firm evidence to confirm it.

While Sir Peter was still nominally in charge of the Government, during late 1674 his brother James Colleton became involved in another dramatic family incident at Bridgetown, Barbados. Atkins did not assume the Governorship until 1 November 1674. The circumstances of the case cast some light on the character of James who was to become Governor of South Carolina in 1686, twelve years later. The Bridges case, the events leading to his dismissal as Governor and his role in a later family dispute give an indication of a style of behaviour which the evidence would suggest could be overbearing, precipitate and selfish. It will be remembered that he had already been appointed a Landgrave in 1671. He may have had an early intention to settle in Carolina which qualified him for a patent, but this mark of favour was stated in the Latin text to be due to the regard in which Sir Peter was held by his fellow proprietors rather than any special achievement of his own.⁵⁴ The story was recounted in April 1675 by Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins in a brief report to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary to Lord Arlington.⁵⁵

Colleton was in the company of Kendall, "of good estate", who was probably his neighbour at the Kendall's Buckland Estate in St John's Parish. Also with him was Mr Mayo, of the same name as a contemporary surveyor and map-maker of Barbados. The third member of the party was

⁵⁴See Appendix D.

⁵⁵CSPC, 1675-6, No. 526.

an ale-house keeper, Mr Archer. Colleton had killed Elisha Bridges, Watchkeeper, after considerable provocation, and had fled the island, an action which might have inferred some sense of guilt or culpability. The Crown had already denied a pardon and on 22 January 1675 the King warned the Governor to preserve James's property in case it had to be sequestered by the Crown on a finding of guilty at trial.⁵⁶ Meanwhile Peter Colleton had petitioned the King while he was still Deputy Governor. In view of the violent assault on James by the Constable, and the acquittal of others involved, the King granted a pardon in response to Sir Peter's application and prior to the judicial hearing.⁵⁷ Perhaps as the result of the pardon Colleton did not have to stand trial with the others accused in June 1675. He may still have been out of the island. Aitken's report of the trial was sent to Secretary Williamson on 1 July.⁵⁸ The time was 9.00 pm on a September or October evening, 1674:

The fishmarket had not ended and most of the shops were open, it being market day. Bridges, the constable, called out his watch. Hearing some gentlemen singing he went down the street to meet them and asked why they kept such a noise. Some replied, 'We keep no noise, but are going to our lodgings'. They said goodnight and parted. Hearing them singing again, which affronted him, the constable warned Mr Mayo, whom he disliked, that he would put him in a cage. He struck the gentlemen 3 or 4 times with his staff and called on the watch to seize Mayo. He then struck Mr James Colleton, whose head he broke in two places. One of the witnesses saw Colleton's blood on the staff and heard him say, 'Flesh and blood is not able to endure this'. Colleton drew his sword and passed it into the body of the constable, who cried out, 'This is fine, I am killed'. The others made no resistance, the streets were full of people and it was bright moonlight.

Colleton was then twenty-five years old, having attended Magdalen College, Oxford in 1666, the Inner Temple and had been called to the Bar.⁵⁹ The dying words attributed to the Constable hardly ring true. If they were

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, Nos. 407, 421.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, No. 486.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, No. 616.

⁵⁹J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1887-1888), p. 305.

they were incorrectly reported, other aspects of the case also may have been but there was more than a hint of the bad judgement displayed by James on occasions.⁶⁰ Fleeing the island to avoid the consequences of the Bridgetown affray was not a well considered reaction if his innocence was convincing enough to secure an immediate royal pardon.

It was not until April or May 1676 that Sir Peter made his final return to England, where he spent the last eighteen years of his life.⁶¹ The intervening period, since becoming President of the Barbados Council in September 1672, had been spent in Barbados. It is likely that he would have returned by mid-1675, as expected by Shaftesbury in his letter to Governor West of 10 June 1675, but for the settlement of the Bridges case.⁶² He stayed a further year in Barbados. During that time the fall of Shaftesbury encouraged Locke to move to France for three years. He relinquished his Secretaryships to the Proprietary and the Council for Trade and Plantations and there is no trace of any further correspondence between him and Sir Peter.

In spite of his distracting political problems Shaftesbury continued to show concern over the smallest details. He wrote to the Governor of the Bahamas in May 1675 at about the time he had speculated to Joseph West that Sir Peter would be on his way home to England. He warned that Captain Darrell and Mr (Thomas) Colleton "have more self-interest than

⁶⁰See Chapter 7. This event does not seem to have been cited by historians as evidence as to character.

⁶¹Richard S. Dunn says he returned to England in 1681 (*Sugar and Slaves*, p. 115), and CSPC shows him in London as a signatory to the Agrarian Articles on 21 June 1674. Both are incorrect. He wrote to Locke from Barbados on 22 July 1674 (see above page 140) giving his agreement to the Articles and Thornburgh to be his proxy. His date of departure from Barbados can be calculated from Governor Atkin's complaint in March 1680 of Sir Peter's five year absence (actually four), CSPC, 1677-80, p. 506, as also can his attendances in London at the Council for Trade and Plantations from 31 October 1676 to 7 September 1680 and at the Proprietary from 24 February 1681 onwards until his death. See CSPC, 1675-76, from Nos. 911-1106, and 1677-8, Nos. 248-1501 and 1681-85, Nos. 26-1940.

⁶²CSPC, 1675-76, No. 581.

the interest of the Proprietors". The Governor was to be "faithful to his employers".⁶³ Shaftesbury exhibited the same fear that the Colletons might be exploiting the Proprietary which he had already communicated to Governor West in April 1671, that they might be "mingling trade with Barbados".⁶⁴

The number of offices Sir Peter accepted shortly after his arrival in England makes it plain that he considered the time had come to settle there permanently. Just before his return writs were issued for an election and the new Assembly was to meet on 21 March 1676. Colleton's own re-election to the Council was unopposed. He now enjoyed the reputation of an elder statesman. He remained on the island until the returns had been presented. A dispute as to the validity of the votes cast for Colonel Thomas Colleton and Colonel Christopher Codrington, as the second member for St John's, was resolved by the house on 22 March in favour of Codrington.⁶⁵ Sir Peter made immediate preparations to leave for England and he never returned to Barbados. His name last appeared in the Barbados minutes of 21 March and next in the minutes of the Lords of Trade and Plantations in London on 31 October 1676, an unaccountable gap of seven months unless he broke his journey.

Resentment was growing in Barbados at the imposition of firm royal control and the award by the Crown of posts normally within the Governor's gift. The supply of white immigrants had virtually stopped, partly due to the treatment of Scotland as a foreign country, and Atkins complained of an inadequate and expensive supply of slaves by the Royal African Company. This charge was refuted by the Lords of Trade; shortages caused by the Dutch War had been made good, and the prices were well below those quoted by Barbados. It was the beginning of constant friction between Atkins and London which was to last his whole governorship and to become his undoing. He was rebuked for encouraging

⁶³*Ibid.*, No. 561.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 1669-74, No. 511.

⁶⁵The owner of less than ten acres did not qualify as a freeholder although non-resident freeholders were eligible, as were Quakers.

an Assembly petition to the King to allow Free Trade which the Lords of Trade thought he should have suppressed. In December 1676 he received a royal letter of censure. Atkins' resentment and alignment with his constituents was similar to the behaviour of many future Proprietary Governors of Carolina who quickly identified themselves with views opposed to Proprietary policy.⁶⁶ Governor Atkins was also resentful of the Planter/Merchants of London, principally Sir Peter, who were consulted by the Lords of Trade apparently in preference to himself. There were frequent occasions when the experience of Sir Peter was of value, especially on defence issues. Alternatively, if Atkins had given an opinion Colleton was called in to debate it. The inadequacy of defence stocks was a particular issue of interest to Colleton which he had pursued as Deputy Governor.⁶⁷ Atkins felt his authority as Governor was being undermined. He wished that Sir Peter and his colleagues would "move in their own spheres for the future".⁶⁸ In Atkins' view the merchants seemed to take it upon themselves "to be Governors of Barbados".⁶⁹ The Lords of Trade supported Colleton.⁷⁰ What caused Atkins more annoyance was that decisions made by the Lords of Trade were known by others in Barbados two or three months before he heard them officially. This demonstrated the effective and advantageous personal communications enjoyed by the planters attending the Committee meetings in London. On average, letters from the Lords of Trade took seventy-eight days from Barbados to London, while a private sloop could make the run in fifty days. The record homeward run was only three weeks, but this was exceptional.⁷¹ The opportunity for private individuals to be informed in advance only depended on the ownership of a fast sloop.

⁶⁶The theme of Governorship is discussed on pages 249-250 below.

⁶⁷CSPC, 1677-80, No. 258.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, No. 403.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, No. 1156.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, No. 575.

⁷¹*English Atlantic*, p. 26.

Stricter imperial control heralded a number of returns which Atkins tried to avoid or delay, especially the submission of previous island laws for information or rejection. One of his early returns included a list of office bearers in the main government departments. This showed Sir Peter as a member of the King's Council and listed him at the head of the island's military officers as a Colonel of Horse. Thomas Colleton is the second listed Colonel of Foot.⁷²

Sir Peter's absence from the Barbados Council was often remarked upon by Atkins, but Colleton never resigned. Publicly he continued to reassure the Lords of Trade that he intended to return to Barbados, where they were anxious for him to exercise a stabilising influence. Regardless of complaints from Atkins about his attendance on Barbados business at meetings of the Lords of Trade, Sir Peter maintained his advocacy of its affairs.⁷³

In February 1677 Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower. He managed to retain a contact with Proprietary matters, but despite the support of Peter Colleton the strength of his leadership was inevitably diminished. Lord John Berkeley sold his Proprietary interest to John Archdale in 1678. He was succeeded as Palatine in 1678 by Lord William Craven. There was no hiatus to account for a reduction in the number of meetings of the Proprietary, but the old impetus was lacking. No reference to Carolina was made by the Lords Commissioners of Trade from late 1677 to early 1679 and no citations are given in the Calendar of State Papers. It would seem that Proprietary control and routines slackened during Shaftesbury's year of absence and Colleton is not recorded as taking up the running in his place.

During 1677 Sir Peter was made a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex and Westminster, and Commissioner for Excise Assessment in Westminster. On 13 December he was proposed by Sir Peter Wyche and elected a fellow of the Royal Society. Shaftesbury had been elected in

⁷²CSPC, 1677-80, No. 403.

⁷³*Ibid.*, No. 825, 1334 (p. 506).

1663 and Locke in 1668. Colleton's profession was declared as "Politician and Colonialist". An Epistle Dedicatory to the King defined the rationale of the Society.

A higher degree of reputation is due to Discoverers, than to the Teachers of speculative Doctrines, nay even to Conquerors themselves.

Peter Colleton's contribution to the empire was formally acknowledged by this honour.⁷⁴ It has been less well recognised since.

During his visit to the Tower in November 1677 Colleton may have discussed with Shaftesbury the plan to extract an income from the hitherto unprofitable Carolina trade by an investment in furs and skins. As long ago as 1674, encouraged by Shaftesbury, Henry Woodward the Indian Agent and interpreter had explored the potential further inland. It was also the first year the settlers had obtained a good harvest. With their food supplies more secure they were able to export some of their thriving cattle and to develop trade with the Indians. Shaftesbury had difficulty in discouraging settler attacks on the coastal Indians. During his exploration Woodward signed a treaty with the Westoes to forestall foreign intervention and to buy their furs and skins. The Proprietors banned settler trade with the two most powerful inland tribes except in payment of a very expensive license, otherwise they were restricted to dealing with the coastal Indians. In 1677, while still in the Tower, Shaftesbury formed a joint stock monopoly company with shares of £100 to buy furs from the Westoes and for the first time the Proprietors purchased Indian slaves. They insisted that settlers should not transport them from white settlement areas without Indian agreement.

⁷⁴J. I. Cope and H. W. Jones, eds., *History of the Royal Society by Thomas Sprat*, (St. Louis: Washington University, c. 1958), unpaginated, and M. Hunter, *Royal Society and its Fellows, 1660-1700*, (Chalfont St Giles: British Society for History of Science, 1982), Index.

There was a long delay before the Colletons began their own Carolina investment in land and this was probably closely connected to the prospects offered by Indian trade.⁷⁵ The first substantial grant shown in the Proprietary records was in February 1674 to Sir John Yeamans' wife, six months before his death and her own temporary return to Barbados. Shaftesbury received the grant of a 12,000 acre Seignory on Ashley River in March 1675 after his loss of the Chancellorship.⁷⁶ He soon appointed this to his heirs to secure their inheritance and probably to avoid the considerable risk of sequestration of his estate. Peter Colleton had shared the first allocation of land with Ashley and Carteret immediately after the first landing. This is shown as Plantation L of 240 acres on Culpeper's map, but had become the property of the Proprietary.⁷⁷ Further grants were recorded in 1676 but only one approached 1,000 acres.⁷⁸ John Boone was included among the allocations and received 200 acres. The location is not mentioned, but is shown on Gascoyne's very informative 1682 map on the west bank of the Ashley River and due south of Oyster

⁷⁵Agnes Baldwin shows incorrectly all three brothers as having 'arrived' in Carolina before May 1672. She uses Land Warrants, which I have checked in South Carolina, as her main source of evidence. These do not substantiate a date of arrival or even an intention to settle which Mrs Baldwin generously agrees in the case of the Colleton brothers in her letter of 15 June 1988 to the SCHS. Sir Peter's movements are well documented in his own correspondence and CSPC from 1670 until his death in 1694. He may have visited Carolina briefly in 1676. Thomas probably made business visits to Carolina, but remained domiciled in Barbados. The first documented visit of James to Carolina was probably that of 1678. He transferred from Barbados and became Governor in 1686. At the time of his Bridgetown affray in 1675 he was still resident in Barbados. *First Settlers in Carolina, 1670-80*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1969), unpaginated; M. Mathews letter 18 May 1680, Edinburgh University Library, La II, 718/1, Laing Collection, CSCHS pp. 134 *et seq*; CSPC, 1670-1694 *passim*, for Sir Peter's attendances at Proprietary meetings.

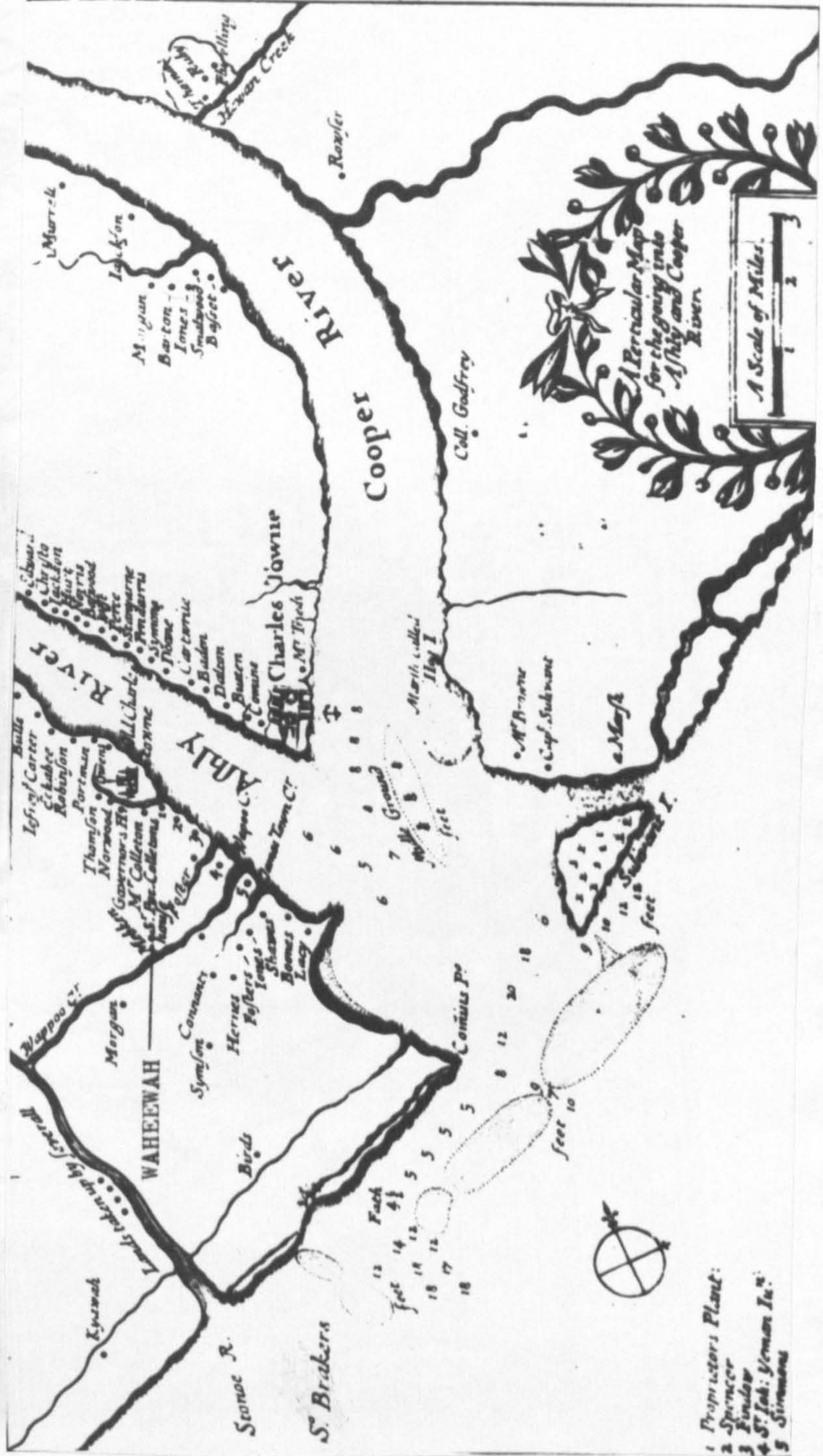
⁷⁶CSPC, 1675-6, No. 717, and Schedule of Land Grants, PRO, CO 5/398.

⁷⁷See map page 113.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, No. 1224.

A Table of the names of such Settlements as are upon Ashly and Cooper Rivers, & other adjacent places.

- 1 Oldwanas P
- 2 Brownes
- 3 Coll. Godfrey
- 4 Rogers
- 5 Adams
- 6 Thomas I: all taken up.
- 7 Land taken up by Pickard Baylis:
- 8 M^r Tho: Colletts Company Land (over)
- 9 M^r Wick & Bigwood & Leach
- 10 Titchell & Murrell
- 11 Lady Hamons
- 12 Commens
- 13 Dicksons
- 14 Gibson Murrell Barth & Browne
- 15 Hurt Chryste. Edwards and Wood
- 16 New Charles Towne
- 17 Batten
- 18 Dalton
- 19 Baden & Cartwrights
- 20 Donne Fimons Fenderns Stangyarn Price Wylt
- 21 Bigwood Morris & Newton
- 22 Lyflem Holton Steward
- 23 Flakner
- 24 Butler
- 25 Smith
- 26 Coll. Godfrey
- 27 Smith
- 28 M^r Waters
- 29 Cathine & Steers
- 30 Nicolas Brookes Clay
- 31 Hooper
- 32 Boden
- 33 Bulls



- 1 Proprietors Plant:
- 2 Spencer
- 3 Findlay
- 4 S^r Job: Yeman In:
- 5 Simmons

Point.⁷⁹ Other members of Boone's family were to become closely associated with the Colletons.⁸⁰

The Colletons first grants were registered seven years after settlement. Sir Peter was allocated Fairlawn, his seignory of 12,000 acres, on 7 September 1677. It was situated about 35 miles from the coast, up the Cooper River. A tract of 373 acres in joint family ownership was also granted on 20 September at Waheewah on the Wappoo Creek, south west of New Charleston and across the Ashley River estuary.⁸¹ The location of Sir Peter's house on this joint land is shown on Joel Gascoyne's map, as are other Colleton properties granted up to 1682 but less accurately indicated.⁸² The next Colleton grant was made two years later. Both the late start, after the opportunity for an early purchase had been taken up by others, and the timing of Sir Peter's return to London in October 1676 lead to the conclusion that he had carried out his twice declared intention to visit Carolina on his return to England.⁸³ As a planter he would have wished to inspect his land before committing himself. The gap of six

⁷⁹See map page 151.

⁸⁰For this reason the Boone biography is given in some detail. John Boone, like Maurice Mathews, was an Indian trader and slave dealer. He also traded with pirates.. He arrived in Carolina on the *Phoenix*, by way of Virginia and New York on 13 December 1671. A number of other Boones emigrated from England to the West Indies probably due to the their Dissenter background. John Boone built up a holding of about 1,400 acres near Charleston and three Town Lots by 1705. He was Commissioner to the Esaw Indians in 1673 and Interpreter in 1677. His family originated in Somerset. He was a relative of Charles Boone of Mount Boone, Dartmouth, whose diplomat father was appointed a judge for Charles I but absented himself from the trial, a cousin or nephew of Christopher Boone, of Lee Place, Kent, Commissioner of the East India Company, and cousin of Joseph Boone, later Dissenter Agent for South Carolina. Joseph Boone was appointed by his mother, Sarah, to act on her behalf over John's estate. John left two sons and three daughters. He was not the antecedent of Daniel Boone, Frontiersman, as several historians have presumed, whose grandfather was a Devonshire weaver. Agnes Baldwin, *First Settlers in Carolina*, 1670-80, unpaginated; CSCHS, pp. 469n; HP:HC, 1660-90, 3 vols, (London, 1983), I, p. 677, and for comparison H.H. Drake, ed., *Hasted's History of Kent, Part I, The Hundred of Blackheath*, (London, 1886), pp. 222-3, which is notoriously inaccurate in some details, RB 6/43, p. 254; JBMHS, Vol III, p. 68, XI, p. 193, XII, pp. 34, 191; SP, f. 469.

⁸¹CSPC, 1677-80, No. 547 and CO5/398.

⁸²See map page 151.

⁸³He may have been accompanied by his brother James who made substantial acquisitions at the same time.

months in his itinerary between March and October 1676 would have allowed ample time. It was also hardly a diversion and followed the conventional route from the Caribbean to Cape Hatteras before joining the North Atlantic Trades. The timing of the purchase entries in the Proprietary records support this theory.

The selection of Fairlawn, and Sir Peter's first visit to Shaftesbury in the Tower, probably had a greater significance than is first apparent. Its remote up-river situation would have been ideal for trading with the inland Westoes. Fairlawn was near the extremity of the settlement against the inland boundary of Berkeley County. It was much further inland than Shaftesbury's Seignory, twenty miles up the Ashley River and intended for the same purpose. Without confidence in Henry Woodward's relationship with the interior Indians, Fairlawn would have been considered a precarious outpost, which it later became in the Indian Wars. The restricted view of the coastal settlers was rather different to the Proprietors. They saw themselves surrounded by Indian, French and Spanish enemies, like a beleaguered garrison, with their security and prosperity dependent on distant England and a parsimonious Proprietary. Their political power was based on land ownership, the aspiration of all immigrants and the key to wealth and success. Most of them were ignorant of planting and had tradesmen qualifications only. The majority, especially of the Barbadian emigrants, were dedicated to the principles of personal freedom and land entitlement regardless of their almost feudal status. When this was threatened they were quick to respond.

The next grants were made during 1679.⁸⁴ On 6 September by far the largest allocation of the year was a Barony of 4,423 acres granted to Sir Peter. The location is given in the Schedule of Land Grants as Cooper River and was probably his Mulberry Plantation, in the south-east corner of

⁸⁴PRO, CO5/398

Land Grant by Joseph West to the Colleton Brothers

William Carter, Town Pallatine and the rest of the Lords
 and absolute Proprietors of the Province of Carolina do hereby
 grant unto Peter Colleton, Thomas Colleton and James Colleton
 Proprietors of the Province of Carolina aforesaid. Thomas Colleton Esq.
 and James Colleton Esq. and Vauagrave a plantation containing
 in the said Peter of said English measure now in the possession
 of the said Peter Colleton, Thomas Colleton and James Colleton
 situate lying and being upon the Watermost side of the Waxwork
 Branch of the T. in the River and butting and bounding as
 appears by a plat thereof herunto annexed; To have and hold
 the said plantation to the said Peter Colleton, Thomas Colleton
 and James Colleton their heirs and Assigns for ever building and
 paying yearly to the said Pallatine and the rest of the Lords
 Proprietors aforesaid the sum of one hundred and
 twentieth part of the rent which shall be after the ninth and
 twentieth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand
 six hundred eighty and nine out of the full money of
 England or the value thereof for supply of the said acres to be
 holden in free and common Socage given under the great Seal
 approved for that purpose at Charles Town in the Province
 of Carolina aforesaid this fifth day of March in the year of
 our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty and one
 Joseph West Gov.

True Copy Examined & Taken
 from the Original Records
 this 27th of April 1704
 By me
 Geo. Evans
 Deputy Registrar

Wm. Carter
 Hen. Woodward
 John Smith

Two thousand-acre grant of land to Peter, Thomas and James Colleton, 5 March 1681. Probably for Mepshoo Barony. Issued by Joseph West, Governor. Copied by George Evans, Deputy Registrar, 1704. Reproduced by permission of Alan Godsall, HHA (unreferenced), framed. (Photograph J E Buchanan).

Fairlawn.⁸⁵ Substantial additional grants were recorded in the Proprietary register in 1680 and included Town Lots of nine acres in Colleton Square, Charleston, for Sir Peter and two joint lots with his brothers. The main allocations in joint ownership were for a 2,000 acre tract at Mepshoo and 3,000 acres at Mepkin.⁸⁶ The final grants to Sir Peter and his brothers were not recorded in London until 1682 and 1683 but at some time after 1670 a grant which cannot be identified from the available records was made to Thomas Colleton in the Goose Creek area. This was "Thomas Colleton's Company land", shown on Gascoyne's map near the junction of Goose Creek and the Cooper River. It is almost certainly where he established his processing factory, soon after the 1670 landing, essential to profitable trade between Carolina and Barbados. It was well-sited to receive and despatch materials both from the coast and the inland waterways, under the control of Thomas Colleton's overseer John Maverick. It was in largely Barbadian populated territory. It is one of the few documented examples of an unsuccessful early attempt by the Proprietors to encourage private companies to take up 12,000-acre plots to speed up the settlement of large areas. It may also have had some relevance to the rare example of a Barbadian east coast wharf warehouse and crane, recently found to have been sited at Hatches River, Barbados, rented by the Colletons and within a short distance of their Windward Plantation.⁸⁷ The Colleton ships may have plied between their two private wharves.

⁸⁵The plantation names are not often identified and have to be matched to acreages. "CFSC" has been relied upon where guesswork would have been the only recourse. The first building at Mulberry "Castle" was probably completed c. 1711 by Thomas Broughton (Lt Governor and Acting Royal Governor of S. Carolina 1735-37). He built it on Colleton land without making a proper survey of the boundary. Sir John II obligingly swapped over 800 acres of land with Broughton whose family lived there for 200 years. The beautiful mansard-roofed house is the oldest brick manor house in Carolina. See F. J. Klingberg, ed., *The Carolinian Chronicle of Dr Francis Le Jau, 1706-1717*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), p. 98.

⁸⁶See CSPC, 1677-80, No. 1638, a confusing summary, and CO5/398. Note the date and acreage variation between the Governor's grant of Mepshoo (see page 154) and the Proprietary record. (See Table 5, page 158)

⁸⁷HHA D/4; RB 3/20. 160.

There is some difficulty in assessing actual land holdings. Grants authorised, or entitlements to land, did not indicate proprietorship unless the designated grantee actually "took up" the land allocated. Similarly, warrants for land did not indicate that the owner had established domicile. It is sometimes impossible to differentiate between authorisations and land taken up, or attribute the relevant plan names. Several stages occurred in the process of applying for a grant in Carolina, or registration in London and the eventual payment or authorisation of quit rents recorded in Colony of Proprietary books. Furthermore, the Calendar of State Papers and the Proprietor's summary of land grants do not always reconcile as to ownership or acreage.⁸⁸ Perhaps not surprisingly, researchers have come to some contradictory conclusions. Wadboo Barony was even mistakenly attributed to Maurice Mathews.⁸⁹ Mathews was Shaftesbury's deputy for a while and Surveyor General. He specialised in buying land from the Indians and trade in beaver fur. In describing the Fairlawn/Wadboo area, Mathews wrote in May 1680:⁹⁰

This hath three settlements upon it And will be forthwith strongly settled in all its parts, for Sir Peter Colleton hath a Signorie and his brother Mr James a Barony about it.

⁸⁸Andrews commented that James Colleton "on being made a Landgrave in 1686 ... removed his family to Carolina..." In fact he was made Landgrave in 1671. See *Colonial Period*, p. 231, contradicted by CSPC 1669-74, No. 492 and the original patent, Appendix D.

⁸⁹Langdon Cheves, ed., "A Contemporary View of Carolina in 1680", CSCHS, Vol. V (1897), p. 332n.

⁹⁰Letter from M Mathews, 18 May 1680, Edinburgh University Library, La II, 718/1, Laing Collection.

To demonstrate the confusion over the dates of grants, the survey of Wadboo Barony was commissioned by the Governor and Council on 2 April 1679 but the date of the Proprietary Warrant was 14 August 1683.⁹¹ Mathews could not have anticipated the grant so James must have had a recognised interest at least four years earlier than the Proprietary confirmation.⁹² Mathews own survey of 1680 does not show any plantations north of Midway River, thereby excluding Fairlawn and

⁹¹For an example see dating and copy dating of the land grant of Mepshoo (page 154) which was processed "out of turn" with the Wadboo dates.

⁹²CSPC, 1681-5, No. 879.

Table 5

Summary of Land Grants in Carolina to Colleton Family Between 1663 and 1683

| Property | Type | Source | Date | John I | Peter | Thos | James | Comments |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------|---------|------|-------|--|
| Carlyle Is. (N. Carolina) | | CSPC 1661-68, No. 558 | 8 Sep 1663 | X | | | | Became Collington Is. Left to Sir Peter. |
| Fairlawn 12,000 acres | Selgnory | CSPC 1677-80, No. 547 | 7 Sep 1677 | | X | | | Inherited by Sir John II from Sir Peter Surveyed 18/5/1678. WLSC, p. 166. Selgnory 25/2/1684, WLSC, pp. 353, 354. Joint ownership. Devolved upon James. ? Surveyed 8/9/1677. WLSC, p. 144. |
| Waheewah (Wappoo Creek) 373 acres | Tract (bend of Colleton Creek) | Ibid | 20 Sep 1677 | | X | X | X | |
| Mulberry 4,423 acres | Tract | Ibid, No. 1249 (1708-09 No. 241) | 6 Sep 1679 (11 Dec 1708) | | X (son) | | | Incorporated with Fairlawn. Broughton built house on Colleton land "in error", c. 1711. Equivalent land exchanged. |
| Colleton Sq., Charleston | 9 acres and Town Lot 80 | Ibid, No. 1249 | 5 Mar 1680 | | X | | | Colleton Square was at junction of Meeting and Broad Streets. |
| Colleton Sq., Charleston | Town Lot 50 | Ibid, No. 1638 | 5 Mar 1680 | | | | X | ? Lots surveyed 10/11/1680. WLSC, pp. 233, 234. |
| | Town Lot 51 | | | | X | X | X | Lot 51 Joint. Devolved upon James. |
| Mepshoo (became Pimlico) 2,000 acres | Tract | Ibid, No. 1638 but see Kew AO. 13/125 | 5 Mar 1680 | | X | X | X | See HHA J West deed for 2,000 acres Joint ownership. Devolved upon James. Surveyed 20/1/1679. WLSC, p. 209. |
| Mepkin 3,000 acres | Tract | Ibid, No. 1638 | 5 Mar 1680 | | X | X | X | Joint ownership. Devolved upon James. Sold to H. Laurens 1762 by Col John Colleton. |
| Cypress (inc. Limerick) 12,000 acres | Barony | CSPC 1681-85, No. 879 | 12 Feb 1682 | | | X | | 23 Feb 1681 in CO5/398 (PRO Kew). In Sir Peter's name in CSPC. Sold by T.C.'S son 1707 in 3 lots. Survey 13/8/1683 WLSC, p. 320. L.P.'s grant 20/11/1682. |
| Wadboo | Barony | Ibid. | 14 Aug 1683 | | | | X | Left to son John, father of JEC. ? Surveys 23/2/1677 WLSC, p. 150 and 23/2/1679 WLSC, p. 236. |

Sir Peter's descendants inherited 16,431 acres plus minor additions, in 1694. Thomas's descendants inherited 12,000 acres plus minor additions, in 1691. James's descendants inherited 18,535 acres plus minor additions, in 1706.

Fairlawn included Stony landing, Old House, Gippy, Lewtfield, Excter, Moss Grove, Fairfield and Ellory's plantations: Moncks Corner village.

In terms of total Colleton acreage, the sale of Cypress Barony in 1707 was replaced by Sir John II's purchase of Devil's Elbow Barony at Bluffton, near Hilton Head in 1718, and the total holdings did not decline until the Revolution, except for Mepkin in 1762.

Sources: CSPC references have been related to Henry A M Smith's, "The Colleton Family in South Carolina". SCHGM, Vol. 1, 1900, pp. 325-421. WLSC references are from A S Salley, ed., Warrants for Lands in South Carolina 1672-1711, (University of South Carolina Press for SCDAH, 1973).

Wadboo.⁹³ Mathews described the olive trees James Colleton had imported:

The olive growes very naturall. I have one here ane foot higher than myself which Mr James Colleton brought here two years agoe, being a stick sawed at both ends, the product time must discover.

This is the only indication that James Colleton was in Carolina in 1678. It leads to conjecture as to whether he fled Barbados for Carolina after killing the Constable at Bridgetown in 1674 but it is hardly likely that the presence of a Landgrave would have gone unreported.⁹⁴ In any event, on Mathews' evidence James must have started planting activities eight years before the usually attributed date, giving him some experience of the colony long before his Governorship.

The poor defensive location of old Charles Town led the Proprietors to insist on a change of location to Oyster Point. The Proprietors were each to have five acres reserved as a Town Lot. Grants for other applicants were to become void if house foundations were not laid within one year. The grid system of layout and the dimensions of frontages and roadwidths were carefully defined.⁹⁵ The change of port had an obvious effect on the acquisition of land at Oyster Point and the Colleton grants reflect their speculative interest. Sir Peter's Seignory of Fairlawn became:

the family seat of the Colleton family, the only family of an original Proprietor to reside in Carolina and the only one to acquire during this early period as many as half a dozen

⁹³Mathew's map of 1680 shows, unaccountably, Sir Peter's Seignory near Port Royal at the conjunction of the Ashepo and Cambahee Rivers on the north side of St Helena Sound opposite Beaufort and east of the Edisto or Colliton River in the area of London (Wiltown). This is a long way from his Seignory at Fairlawn, granted in 1677, of which there is no indication. See "A Plot of the Province of Carolina in North America.... surveyed by Mr Maurice Mathews", (Printed by Joel Gascoyne, 1680). *B M Catalogue of Printed Maps* 1967, Vol 3, p. 847, Map 5414.24.

⁹⁴All the accounts, except Mathews explicit letter, assume that James Colleton first arrived in Carolina in 1686 shortly before he became Governor.

⁹⁵This can be identified within the Bastion in modern Charleston. The grid layout outside the Bastion is post-1720. *CSPC* 1677-80, Nos. 1233, 1355.

properties constituting probably the largest amount of land held by anyone in the colony.⁹⁶

It was not long after his *land* purchases in Carolina and his return to England *that* the now eminent Sir Peter was made a Freeman of Exeter by succession, a final step in the reconciliation of the Colleton family with the Corporation since his father was expelled from their Chamber in 1646.⁹⁷ About 1679 his only legitimate son John⁹⁸ was born, the heir to his Carolina and Barbados property. The same year Sir Peter and Shaftesbury now released from the Tower, withdrew their investment in the Hudson's Bay Company after twelve years of fruitless anticipation.⁹⁹ They did so just too soon, but with good reason. In 1678 the ship *Shaftesbury* had been wrecked off the Scilly Isles on her homeward run. In 1679 the Company despatched the *John and Alexander* and the brand new yacht *Colleton*, named after Sir Peter, to Hudson's Bay. The *Colleton* returned to London in July 1679 after getting no further than St Michael's Mount, Cornwall. The subsequent sale of the cargo of the *John and Alexander* would have been enough reward to avoid Shaftesbury and Colleton selling out in December 1679. It transpired that the crew of the *Colleton*, having lost courage after hearing the experiences of previous abortive expeditions to Hudson's Bay

forsook the voyage when there was no necessity for it, staved the bulkhead of the Vessel, and pretended the storm had done it, And when they came to the Mount in Cornwall sold much of the goods that were on board, pretending they had been forced by the storm which drove them back to throw

⁹⁶*Colonial Period*, p. 218 and see Table 5 on page 157. However, these holdings were probably exceeded in the eighteenth century by the property of Joseph Blake, Jnr.

⁹⁷He was awarded this distinction on 11 March 1678. M. Rowe, *Exeter Freeman*, 1266-1967, (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Exeter, 1973), p. 169.

⁹⁸By then Sir Peter's brother Thomas had at least three surviving children, the strangely named Walker Colleton, shortly to become the mistress of Governor James Kendall, his son Peter, and younger daughter Elizabeth. See Table 1.

⁹⁹Sir Peter did not remain a member until his death as stated in *HP:HC* 1660-90, Vol. II, p. 106.

them overboard; for which Villany wee shall in due time, wee doubt not, make the criminalls smart.¹⁰⁰

Suspiciously, the Master of the *Colleton* was aboard the *John and Alexander* when the two vessels became separated in the storm. It was determined later that he was drunk.

The Bahamas Proprietary and the Hudson's Bay Company are good examples of initial failure, possibly resulting from lack of personal commitment by the main stockholders. Shaftesbury, Colleton and most of their colleagues were unable to devote full attention to all their interests. Control of the widespread Bahamas was also beyond the resources of its Proprietary. The islands soon became a nest of pirates and privateers but after an unrewarding start and low crew morale the Hudson's Bay Company made a full recovery from the first twelve years of disappointment and disaster. The turning point was reached within months of the removal of the Shaftesbury and Colleton investments and its future success established. The next ship home brought profit beyond expectation.

Shaftesbury's early good luck had almost entirely deserted him. It was not until a year after his first release from the Tower that he is recorded as having returned to Proprietary business. In March 1679 he and his colleagues recommended the transportation of continental Huguenots to Carolina.¹⁰¹ This was not only because of their special skills and payment of their own expenses but also as a counter-balance to the anti-Proprietary activities of the Anglican Barbadian faction. The Huguenot request was the start of Sir Peter's efforts to encourage settlement by non-Anglican groups. Less successfully, Shaftesbury continued his opposition to the Catholicism of the Duke of York. He became President of a more politically representative Privy Council for a brief period before dismissal for his continued support of Monmouth's legitimisation. His defiant indictment of the Duke of York as a Popish recusant led to his inevitable

¹⁰⁰E.E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671-74*, 2 vols, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1942), I, pp. xx, xxi, 10n.

¹⁰¹CSPC, 1672-80, No. 919.

return to the Tower in 1681. In exchange for release he offered self-exile to Carolina. Given bail in December 1682 he fled to Holland, where he died the following year.

Sir Peter had sympathy for non-conformists, evidenced by his forthcoming assistance to Huguenot and Presbyterian settlement but his Whig views were more liberal than Shaftesbury's and acceptable to the House of Assembly in Barbados. They continued to use Sir Peter and Colonel Henry Drax as their agents in London and their source of information and influence. Sir Peter must have had the same view of his role as the later Colonial Agents. He felt that his usefulness on behalf of the Proprietary of Carolina and the Assembly of Barbados could be enhanced by entering Parliament. He stood, unsuccessfully, in the second general election of 1674, but was returned briefly as Whig MP for Bossiney in the district of Tintagel in 1681. He was eventually re-elected for the same constituency in 1689, and from 1690 for four years until his death, under the patronage of the Amys.¹⁰² The Barbados Assembly briefed Drax and Colleton to obtain redress for Scotland, still treated as a foreign country, both in terms of trade and in the provision of servants, for the failure of Royal African Company to supply adequate numbers of slaves and for the penalty of customs duties more stringent than those applied by the Portuguese to their colonies. They expressed the entire confidence of the Assembly in Colleton's and Drax's abilities and faithfulness and sent thirty butts of sugar to assist their work. Governor Atkins found himself isolated from this correspondence, a fact unknown to Sir Peter.¹⁰³ Atkins had lost the confidence of the Lords of Trade in his administration, a situation which he blamed partly on the Colleton/Drax presence at the centre of government. He was censured by the King for failing to send laws home

¹⁰²The Amys were West Country kinsmen of his mother. Thomas Amy was appointed a trustee of the Proprietary share of the late Sir William Berkeley in 1683 and subsequently purchased a 12,000 acre Barony in Carolina in 1694, the year of Colleton's death. Perhaps his parliamentary seat was a nepotistic "quid pro quo". William S. Powell, *The Proprietors of Carolina*, (Raleigh, N. Carolina: State Dept of Archives and History, 1968), pp. 6-11.

¹⁰³CSPC, 1677-80, No. 1427.

for approval and for by-passing Royal Authority.¹⁰⁴ Atkins complained about his impossible position:

You will please to consider me as the King's Governor here; and that you are pleased to put the opinion of merchants or people that are concerned in this Island (Colleton and Drax) in balance with me - 'tis something hard to bear.¹⁰⁵

On 26 March 1680 he forwarded a remarkable and underrated census of the island to the Lords of Trade.¹⁰⁶ Peter Colleton was called in to examine the figures and reported some significant statistical discrepancies, especially in the military details.¹⁰⁷ Atkins was rebuked, and the doubt cast on the validity of the document resulted in it being consigned to oblivion. Its value has recently been reappraised and given recognition as one of the most comprehensive early administrative returns from a colony.¹⁰⁸ Atkins, so dependent on the goodwill of the King and the planters, could please no one. His inclination to counter-attack criticism became his undoing. He was recalled by the King in July 1680 to give an explanation for his misdemeanours and Sir Richard Dutton was nominated in his place.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, No. 1050.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, No. 1146.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, No. 1134.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, No. 1390.

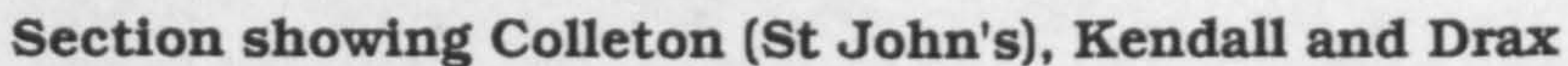
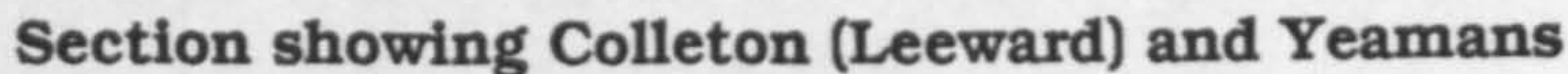
¹⁰⁸Richard S. Dunn, "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America", *WMQ*, Vol XXVI (1969), p.3.

Atkins' census enabled a calculation to be made by Richard S. Dunn that one hundred and seventy-five planters, or seven per cent of the total, controlled fifty-four per cent of the population and fifty-three per cent of the acreage.¹⁰⁹ No other statistics could demonstrate more succinctly the dominance of the principal planters. Due to their wealth and partly because of annoying trade restrictions and taxation, the census data confirmed that there was every incentive for the most prosperous Barbadian emigrants to repeat the formula in Carolina, in a less onerous climate. The return gave the establishment of the Barbadian Militia as two Regiments of Horse, one of which had been commanded by Sir Peter, and six Regiments of Foot, one commanded by his brother Thomas. Thomas should have possessed at least one hundred acres in his own name, separate from the trust plantations, in order to qualify under Barbados law for Field rank.¹¹⁰ The Council had ten members, including the absent Sir

¹⁰⁹*Sugar and Slaves*, p. 96.

¹¹⁰Sir Peter was shown to have two hired and two bought servants, 179 negroes and 425 acres in St John's. Thomas was shown with ten acres in St Philip's but this must have been only a part of his holdings otherwise he would not have qualified as an Assembly member or Colonel. Samuel Rolleston is shown with 158 acres in St Lucy and 138 acres in St Peter which he managed but owned only a share, the major proportion being Colleton. He also had four servants and 114 negroes. The slave ratio to acreage in both plantations was slightly below large plantation average of one per two acres, but concealment to lessen taxation may have been the reason. The 720 acre total land corresponds to the 1673 census, except the latter apportioned the St John's acreage twice.

This explains Richard S. Dunn's "glaring conflict" in *Sugar and Slaves*, p. 90. See also p. 135 above.



Source: Richard Ford, *A New Map of the Island of Barbadoes*.
(Submitted with Governor Atkins' Census of 1679.)

Peter, and the House of Assembly two for each of the eleven parishes. Thomas represented St John's. There were five courts of Common Pleas with Thomas as Assistant to the Judge of St Michael's Court.

Richard Ford's map, which accompanied the census, contains much helpful information.¹¹¹ The retention of the names of early plantation owners makes it possible to use the map today. It provides one of the keys to Carolinian origins. At the time of the census Barbadians were the dominant influence in Carolina and had concentrated in the area where Thomas Colleton had established his company land at Goose Creek. They achieved cohesion both as Barbadians and Anglicans, the majority denomination of the island, and later held most of the lesser government offices. They also dominated the council and assembly. However, three of their leaders, Maurice Mathews, James Moore and John Boone, often referred to as Barbadians, did not come from the island.¹¹²

In 1680, Mathews, Boone and others, including Governor West, were appointed Commissioners in Indian disputes, principally to redress disputes with settlers. No slaves were to be taken within two hundred miles of the settlement or transported without their agreement. In the following years Mathews and Boone exploited the Indians to the point of dismissal and censure by the Proprietary. They had an obvious conflict of interests in fur and Indian land. As fur traders they represented some of the Proprietor stockholders in the monopoly company, including Ashley and Colleton. The commission enabled the leadership of the Goose Creek faction to assume control of the trade and welfare of the Indian tribes. Mathews wrote to an unnamed friend at home to give his views on

¹¹¹It shows the location of both Colleton properties, one inland from Rupert's Fort, the Leeward Plantation, and on the rich red soil of "The Topp of the Cliffe", the Windward Plantation, south-west of St John's Church. See map page 165

¹¹²e.g., Sosin, *English America*, p. 211. No evidence has been produced that they were Barbadian. Mathews went out on the Carolina from England, was often referred to as Welsh, Moore originated in Ireland and the Boones were prominent in Kent and Devonshire. John Boone sailed out to New England direct before travelling south to Carolina. See above p. 152n and CSC, p. 41. Richard Ligon's map of 1657 shows a Mathewes which may be the source of one wrong deduction. CSPC, 1677-80, No. 1356.

Carolina.¹¹³ He was confident that the settlers were taking good care of the Indians; more so than the Proprietors.

Wee have ever afforded the Indians Justice making them give satisfaction for any injury they have done... giving them satisfaction for the wrongs of our people...this... hath created such a confidence of our integritie,,, they are only observant of what our ...Councill directs them... and are useful to us in fishing, hunting, cow-keeping etc.... There have been severall vessls built here, and there are now 3 or 4 upon the stocks. We have a daily correspondence from the Barbadoes...

Mathews' account would have caused no apprehension to a Proprietor and might well have been written by one. He clearly understood their Indian policy even if he chose to interpret it later to his commercial advantage. He also reinforced the importance to Carolina of communications with Barbados. The island was home to a quarter of the Carolina population, the largest single constituent of the community.¹¹⁴ They were at a distance of often less than two and a half weeks sailing. It is hardly surprising that their affinities and loyalties were much closer to Barbados than London. To counter their influence the Proprietors began to stimulate the emigration of dissenters to Carolina in the 1680s to balance the Anglican supremacy which repeatedly ignored or undermined the Proprietors' instructions and ultimately broke their diminishing power.

Sir Peter's absence from Barbados, to which he was expected to return as a prominent member of the King's Council, led to inquiries from the Lords of Trade in September 1680. Whatever his intentions, he advised that he would return as soon as he had disposed of a "vexatious lawsuit" against him.¹¹⁵ Details of the case are not revealed. The following month he was called with other Gentlemen of Barbados to attend the Lords of Trade to explain the failure to convert slaves to Christianity. The Lord's minutes reveal the contemporary planter's view of the threat posed by slaves in a community where they greatly outnumbered the white

¹¹³Mathews, 18 May 1680, Edinburgh University Library, La. II, 718/1, Laing Collection.

¹¹⁴See CSC, p. 29, *English America*, p. 136.

¹¹⁵CSPC, 1667-80, Nos. 1501, 1513.

population. The minutes are quoted in full. The planters were responding to George Fox's campaign for the religious instruction of slaves and to the protestations of the Anglican clergyman, Morgan Godwyn.

The Gentlemen of Barbados, viz., Sir Peter Colleton, Mr Lucy, Mr Scott, Mr Davers and others attend to some questions concerning that plan and particularly to propose some means whereby the negroes may be admitted to Christianity without prejudice to the planters. Whereupon they declare that the conversion of their slaves will not only destroy their property, but endanger the safety of the island, inasmuch as such negroes as are converted usually grow more perverse and untractable than others and will not be so fit for labour and sale as others, and that as there is a great disproportion of Blacks to Whites, they have no greater scarcity than the diversity of their languages as they are brought from several countries and that in order to their being made Christians it will be necessary to teach them all English which gives them an opportunity and facility of combining together against their masters and of destroying them.

That they are a sort of people so averse to learning that they will rather hang themselves or run away than submit to it and that their conversion will very much impair their value and price which will affect the African Company who are their first masters.

Upon the whole matter their Lordships think fit that the Governor with the assistance of the Council and Assembly to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of negroes and other slaves with due caution and regard to the property of the inhabitants and safety of the Island, which is to be made an instruction to Sir Richard Dutton.¹¹⁶

The inquiry and the comments by the Barbadians are of special relevance because of their frank expression, the role played by planters in importing large numbers of slaves into Carolina, and the vested interest of many leading officials and peers. Their Lordships disagreed mildly with the Barbadians because of new political pressures against slave conditions but their private thoughts may have been similar. The way of life which the Caribbean planters translated to Carolina created the future environment for two hundred years of slave ownership and black majority in the south.

¹¹⁶PRO, CO 391/3, ff. 206, 207.

It established the basis of the Southern ethos and was, arguably, the most significant ethnic event of modern history.

By 1680 Carolina was raising thousands of cattle for export and a substantial trade in naval stores and fur for shipment to England. Meat and lumber went to Barbados in exchange for rum and sugar accompanied by Indian slaves, a human trade expressly forbidden by the Proprietors. At the end of the decade Barbados continued to be dominated by rich planters. They enjoyed an indulgent life-style in an unhealthy environment, overcrowded and over-heated. Carolina provided them with a more temperate contrast for most of the year where they could perpetuate their Barbadian status although the dangers of endemic ill-health remained. Half the immigrant population of twelve hundred had come from the West Indies. Of these half, including servants and slaves, were from Barbados.¹¹⁷ The white element of one hundred and seventy five represented a wide social cross-section and probably less than half took out land warrants, the aspiration of most white settlers.

The choice and origin of Carolina Governors is of some significance. It is a popular but recent misconception that a large proportion of the early Governors of Carolina were Barbadian in origin. There is an argument against Richard Dunn's statement that seven of the early Carolina Governors had Barbados backgrounds, by which he infers a high proportion of the total.¹¹⁸ On the contrary, the number of Barbadian Governors was as small as might be expected. Not surprisingly, the rival and politically active anti-Proprietary Barbadians were not appointed to lead the Council in the formative years. In the event of a Governor's death, or remove, it would have been unacceptable to the Proprietary to have had an anti-Proprietary leader of the Council as temporary Governor. In the first sixteen years of the colony the only Barbadian governor was Yeamans. He well represented their attitude to the Proprietary, beginning his three year stay by attacking the legality of West's position as Governor and then

¹¹⁷*Sugar and Slaves*, p. 112.

¹¹⁸Richard S. Dunn lists Yeamans, James Colleton, James Moore and his son James, jnr., Daniel, Gibbes, and Arthur Middleton as Barbadians (*Ibid.*)

forming an anti-Government Barbados party. James Colleton was a Barbadian governor (1686-90) but as the brother of Sir Peter was a 'Proprietary Man'. James Moore (Governor 1700-1703) cannot be established as a Barbadian, neither can Arthur Middleton (Acting Governor 1725-30).¹¹⁹ Moore became temporary governor from the position of President of the Council and did not receive a commission from the Proprietary. It was not until 1709 that Gibbes (President of the Council) and later Daniel (Deputy Governor) in 1716 became the first and second Barbadians from the Council of the immigrant community to hold even interim Governorship. Neither was appointed by the Proprietary which quickly replaced them. All the other Governors came from England, except one each from North Carolina (Sothel), Virginia (Ludwell) and Ireland (Moore). There were only four Barbadians out of twenty Governors in the first fifty-one years after settlement, until the end of the Proprietary. There were no representatives of other Caribbean islands during the same period. It seems clear that after their experience of Yeamans, and the Barbadian leadership of the Proprietary party, the Proprietors had made up their minds never again to commission a Barbadian as governor. James Colleton was the sole exception in the fifty years of their control. He was committed to their authority by inheritance and fraternity.¹²⁰ Despite Sir Peter's nepotistic preference, and in view of the need for order and good government, it is perhaps surprising that a more judicious control was not exercised over the qualifications of

¹¹⁹P. F. Campbell, Editor of the *BMHS*, wrote to me on 5 April 1987 to say he could find no trace in the Barbados records of this James Moore having originated in Barbados. He was descended from an Irish revolutionary family and emigrated to Charleston in 1675. (See DAB) He married as his second wife Margaret Berringer, daughter of Col and Margaret Berringer (later Lady Yeamans). Their bachelor nephew John Berringer settled in Carolina and left his uncle and aunt, Governor and Mrs Moore, half of his Barbados estate in 1704, two years before the Governor's death. The name Moore survives in Barbados close to St Nicholas Abbey and in St John's Parish. See E.M. Shilstone, "Nicholas Plantation and Some of its Associations", *Chapters in Barbados History*, (BMHS, 1986), pp. 52, 53. A James Moore of another generation lived in St Peter's, Barbados and died nearly a hundred years later. In view of some controversy over Middleton origins, the details available in CSPC are given in Appendix F.

¹²⁰It is a strange fact that all four temporary or commissioned Governors of South Carolina of Barbadian origin had property within five miles of each other in north west Barbados.

governors. The same criticism might be made of the selection of immigrants however anxious the Proprietors were to increase numbers as quickly as possible for defensive purposes. The stability of law and order must have been threatened by the type of citizen earmarked for Carolina by the City of Edinburgh in the 1680s. The council minutes record a ship at Leith ready to take "innumerable idle vagabonds, whores and thieves to Charleston" from the Tolbooth.¹²¹

The 1670s were an eventful and critical period in the history of Carolina and to a lesser extent Barbados. Sir Peter's contribution during the decade was an important one. He was one of the few planters in Barbados who could be trusted with the supreme authority of governorship. He exercised it for two years in spite of his early concern of his ability to control the independent-minded and brash Councillors. A plea to London for a replacement planter governor was ignored as it had been in Modyford's day. In his telling letter of 27 November 1672 warning Barbadians away from the Bahamas he made a prophetic comment about their talent for upsetting an even tenor of life. His experience of Yeaman's behaviour, the influence of the Barbadian councillors in Carolina and his suspicions of Barbadian merchant trading practices had given him cause for mistrust. His frankness in writing to Sir Peter as though he was a third party rather than a Barbadian suggests either guile or that he genuinely considered him impartial. Sir Peter gave recognition to the lack of authoritative leadership in Carolina by his often declared intention to visit the colony as soon as he could be relieved of the Barbados Governorship. The proposal for this to have been a Colleton, Locke, Willoughby visit in the first instance hints at the possibility that the Governor of Barbados might have been intended to exercise some form of supreme authority. Willoughby's inherited rights in the Caribbean would have given him more authority than most royal governors. Carolina would have fitted well at that time into a geographic area which might contain the Spanish and French military threat to the English southern colonies

¹²¹Marguerite Wood and Helen Armet, eds. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1681-1689*, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1954), p. 111.

on the American mainland as well as in the Caribbean. The leadership took two other telling knocks which prevented a joint visit by members of the Proprietary. The first was Shaftesbury's fall from high office. The second was Locke's resignation from the Secretaryship in 1675 and his absence in France for three years. The initiative of government never remained long in the hands of the Proprietary. Peter Colleton was the only one of their number who continuously took a leading part in promoting colony interests starting with the first reconnaissances and only ending with his death thirty-two years later.

Sir Peter delayed his return to England until late 1676. The question must remain as to why he took so long to make a land investment in Carolina. James' appointment as a Landgrave in 1671 signifies that he was expected to commit himself to South Carolina but no single or joint grant was made in his name until 1677. He did not receive Wadboo Barony exclusively until 1683 according to Proprietary dating.¹²² The probability is that Shaftesbury's stock company to trade in furs was the spur to the type of merchant trading adventure which would have appealed to Peter Colleton. It was only in 1679 that he sold out of a similar but unprofitable fur trade investment in the Hudson's Bay Company in which he had been the first planter to invest. The fur trade in Carolina was by then established and lucrative. Thomas expanded his own interests at the same time with a Landgrave's entitlement to allow the maximum exploitation of acreage.

Sir Peter's legitimate son John was born in England c. 1679. His own childhood had been in Exeter. There is every likelihood that he wanted his heir to have the same upbringing in England, away from the risks of epidemic and ill-health in Barbados. Furthermore it is evident from his will of 1694 that his wife had predeceased him. He had married Elizabeth Johnstone, widow of William Johnstone, during his visit to Barbados between September 1672 and early 1675. Her father was the

¹²²Matthews attributed it to him in 1678. James Colleton had already taken out his land grants before he came as Governor in 1686, not *after* 1686 as mentioned by R. S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, p. 115. See Table 5, page 157, for citations.

Rector of St John's, near Colleton Plantation, and died in 1674. He may have become a widower shortly after John's birth and a return to Barbados with a young child could have been difficult. In any event after 1676 he showed reluctance to return to his councillorship in Barbados or to settle in the New World. He sought the King's permission for leave of absence from Barbados. He had spent all his early and middle age in the service of Barbados and Carolina. His reputation was secure enough to win reward and honour in England. His advice was sought regularly on all aspects of colonialism. He had achieved a place at its centre after thirty years of an intensely active adult life. After the demise of Shaftesbury he lacked, or did not seek, influential support to achieve high office in the Administration. His future contribution to the Colonies was to be political as well as Proprietorial but his time in the Commons as Whig MP for the Borough of Bossiney was limited by the fortunes of his party. His days as a leading colonial entrepreneur would end in semi-retirement as a Commissioner for Public Accounts.

PART 3

The Decline of Proprietary Rule (1681-1705)

- Chapter 7 The Erosion of Authority and James Colleton's
Defence of the Proprietary Interest
- Chapter 8 New Economic Strength and Religious Discord in
South Carolina

CHAPTER 7

The Erosion of Authority and James Colleton's Defence of the Proprietary Interest

The period from 1681 to 1705 included the five year Governorship of Sir Peter's brother James in South Carolina. His term of office reflected the continuing erosion of the authority he had been commissioned to sustain. As the representative of a powerful Proprietary and Barbadian family, he was expected to secure the co-operation of the Anti-Proprietary party which persisted in rejecting both the constitution and Proprietary instructions to the point of open defiance. The private and public careers of James Colleton were intermingled. His responsibility for the promotion of a healthy economy paralleled his own plantation and trading investments. It was inevitable that self interest and corporate interest became confused, with a consequent opportunity for adverse criticism by his detractors. Nevertheless, his plantation activities were progressive and Colleton gave a lead to other growers equally prepared to experiment with new varieties of crop.

In Carolina the decade of the 1680's was a period of political chaos. In England and the North American colonies speculation and turmoil accompanied the events of the Glorious Revolution. Before his second imprisonment, in May 1681, Shaftesbury was joined by fellow Whig politicians in an indictment of the Duke of York as a Popish recusant.¹ His direct attack on opponents of religious toleration was courageous but provocative. In his later years even Locke disassociated himself from Shaftesbury's policies and his confrontation with royal Catholicism to increase Whig support. Peter Colleton was also obliquely associated with radical Whig policies. Correspondence to him was discovered in the

¹Included among them was Sir William Cowper, father of the first Earl Cowper, who rode to welcome King William. Lord Cowper was a Commissioner for union with Scotland and first Lord Chancellor of Great Britain in 1707. His daughter Anne married James Edward Colleton of Haines Hill, the grandson of James Colleton of Barbados. She died in 1750. Her diaries are in the Panshanger MSS, County Record Office, County Hall, Hertford, SG13 8DE.

possession of one of the Rye House conspirators, in connection with perjurer Titus Oates' pension, but no action was taken against him.² His support was probably confined to his personal and political sympathy for Shaftesbury. The next few years were marked by Whig attempts to legitimise the Duke of Monmouth in order to exclude the Duke of York from the succession.

The absence of Shaftesbury from the Proprietary and the rejection of James Colleton, nearly brought about its end. It was saved by the septuagenarian Palatine, Lord Craven, a high-Anglican loyal to York, the experience of Sir Peter Colleton and the commonsense of the Quaker proprietor John Archdale. In 1682 they issued the second revision of the Fundamental Constitutions of one hundred and twenty clauses, followed by a third eight months later, in the genuine but forlorn hope of satisfying all parties.³ The constitutional changes included land payment reforms and representational concessions, partly to attract a settlement of Scots.

The white population of Carolina had earned the reputation of being lawless and unscrupulous, especially in their dealings with the Indians.⁴ The Indian traders, including Mathews, James Moore, Arthur Middleton and John Boone, forced a war against the Westoe Indians before the Proprietors could react. This ended the Proprietors' monopoly created by Shaftesbury and Peter Colleton in 1672, which they had established with other tribes, principally the Yamasees. The Proprietors faced the collapse of their plans and their investment in Carolina. With constitutional reform they tried to insist on the regulation of the Indian trade, the abolition of slavery and an end to piracy fostered by James Moore and John Boone.

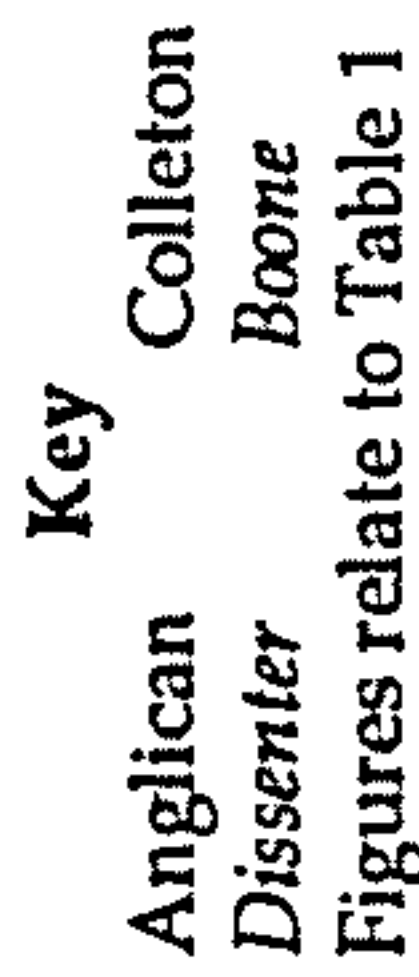
Between 1680 and 1682 the population of Carolina had doubled from 1,100 to 2,200, mainly due to the emigration of Dissenters provoked by

²*HP:HC*, 1660-90, 3 vols, II, p. 106.

³*CSPC*, 1681-85, Nos. 359, 656.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

Interlocking Relationships of Governors, Proprietors, Anglican and Dissenter Families Carolina and the West Indies



the adverse political climate in England.⁵ The English Dissenters were led by Benjamin Blake, the brother of Cromwell's Admiral, Daniel Axtell son of Charles I's gaoler at his trial, the executed regicide Colonel Axtell, Joseph Morton and Thomas Smith. The intermarriage of many of the principal Dissenter families provided a strong bond. Their later link with Dissenter Joseph Boone, whose family acquired Colleton relations, was to give their extended family a major interest in the proprietorship, governorship and ownership structure of the colony.⁶ An analysis of their relationships and offices discloses a speedily built and formidable base of power and influence. It was not fully established until after James Colleton's governorship. A significant part of the population increase was accounted for by Thomas Colleton's shipments of emigrants from the Caribbean.⁷ A large number of them settled in Colleton County. In recognition of his continuing and increasing commitment to Carolina Thomas was appointed Landgrave on 28 May 1681, ten years after his younger brother James and with more apparent justification.⁸ Transatlantic traffic with Charleston was minimal and only four vessels a year cleared England for the Carolinas in the 1690's, although their population then exceeded 10,000. South Carolina's main communications were still with Barbados. The emphasis shifted very rapidly and the 1690's ended the dominance of the Barbadian merchant adventurer. For instance, in 1715 Charleston received more ships out of Britain than any other North American port.⁹ Legal trade to Charleston was not the only form of traffic to show a substantial increase.

⁵It was ameliorated by the 1687 Declaration of Indulgence for Roman Catholics and Dissenters.

⁶See Table 6, page 177. Sirmans has described a similar linkage as evidence of a second generation political aristocracy. CSC, p. 104.

⁷D. D. Wallace, *South Carolina, A Short History, 1520-1948*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951).

⁸As a consequence Thomas Colleton's Barony of Cypress was granted on 12 February 1682. Its acquisition was eased by the changes in payment and rental terms in the constitutional revisions of 1681 and 1682. The Proprietors' written confirmation of James Colleton's Wadboo grant had been awaited since 1679.

⁹*English Atlantic*, p.33.

To the chagrin of the Proprietors, Governor West was unable to control the illegal practices of slave traders. They replaced him by Dissenter Joseph Morton in 1682 to give further encouragement to non-conformist settlement. The new influx provided the leadership of the Proprietary Party and opposition to the so-called "Barbadian" Anglicans, including Sir Peter's natural son Charles.¹⁰ Sir Peter still occupied a vacancy on the Barbados Council which he had not attended since 1676. He was pressed by the Governor to return to his seat, but in August 1682 the King extended his leave of absence in England to 28 October 1684.¹¹ Sufficient reason for a delayed return was the need for his experience at meetings of the Proprietary and to make arrangements for a Scottish expedition to the southern frontier area, close to Florida.

Sir Peter had been in correspondence with Henry Erskine, Lord Cardross, of Port of Menteith, Perthshire, to arrange terms for a settlement of Presbyterian Scots at Stuart's Town, near Port Royal. Erskine had been in prison for four years as a penalty for having a Presbyterian chaplain at Cardross. His party included the energetic and vain John Stewart, who was later to assist James Colleton in Carolina with political and agricultural advice. The emigrants are described by Verner W. Crane as Scottish refugees of "a class superior to the old Barbadians and the English and Irish planters and servants ... at Ashley River".¹² The Proprietors negotiated a special agreement with the Scots which gave them privileged status and informed Governor Morton. Cardross sent a reconnaissance party ahead to locate the most navigable river entrance.

The Proprietors were concerned about Carolina's reputation for ill health after the selection of Oyster Point for the Charleston township. The coastal and lowland marshes harboured malaria and Charleston held no court and council meetings between June and October to avoid the

¹⁰Not his "cousin" as described by Sirmans, CSC, p. 43.

¹¹CSPC, 1681-85, No. 675.

¹²*Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), p. 28.

"sickly months" of heat and disease.¹³ Lord Cardross wrote to Peter Colleton on 27 March 1685 from Stuart's Town to advise that 148 of them had reached Charleston safely in October 1684.¹⁴

We found the place so extrordinerie sicklie that that sickness quickley seased many of our number and took away great many of our number and discouraged others, insomuch that they desarted us....

Their numbers were reduced to fifty-one and no passenger on the second vessel would accompany them further. The sick quickly recovered at their destination on high ground near Port Royal but the situation worsened in Charleston and for a while migrant numbers were insufficient to prevent a net decrease in the population of the town through ill-health and removal. Conditions in the colony were widely reported abroad, especially in England. Departures from Carolina were prohibited except under licence, but many settlers "slipped away".¹⁵

The reduction in the size of Cardross's expedition was not the only set-back. The Proprietors were disappointed to hear that Governor Morton was unable to break the power of the Goose Creek men, especially Mathews and Moore who controlled the Assembly. He was also unable to restrict their support of the Indian slave trade or the provisioning of pirates and freebooters at Charleston. Sir Richard Kyrle from Ireland was appointed to succeed Morton in 1684 in the hope that an outsider could prevail, but he died within six months. Robert Quarry, an English settler and President of the Council, took over on a temporary basis but was soon dismissed for succumbing to the common temptation of trading with pirates. The stalwart West was reappointed for a third term, but unequal to the struggle for supremacy and stable government against his old Goose

¹³G. P. Insh, "The Carolina Merchant: Advice on Arrival", *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XXV (1928), p.100.

¹⁴Malaria was covered by the description, "fever and ague". It was also known as the "seasoning" disease. Yellow fever was common at the end of the century. *Black Majority*, pp. 64-5.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 65-7.

Creek opponents, he left in 1685, disillusioned, for Virginia. Morton reassumed temporary Governorship as Lord President of the Council.

Morton's second period of office coincided with a hint of desperation in the Proprietors' instructions which cancelled appointments, ordered arrests, and instructed enquiries into irregularities. Governors and temporary governors changed posts too quickly to establish good order in the province or a measured response in Proprietary communications. There were no less than six Governors between 1684 and 1686. Two were temporary, two dismissed, one retired and one irregularly superseded in 1690. From 1685, and for some time following, most of the Proprietors' instructions were sparsely signed, often only by Craven and Peter Colleton with the addition of lesser known Proprietors by purchase, including Archdale, and Thomas Amy as a trustee. The Palatine, Craven, was frequently engaged on personal service to the Crown, itself undergoing a period of crisis. Sothel was sometimes present in 1685. He was to be the instigator of James Colleton's replacement as Governor of South Carolina in 1690. From 1686-90, a period which included the distractions of James II's exile, and again at the end of the century, there was a reduction in the volume of Proprietary instructions. Few had any special significance. These were critical years of instability in Carolina and the reduction in the level of Proprietary influence coincided, unsurprisingly, with the decline of their authority. On the Proprietors' instructions, Mathews and Moore were removed from the Council and John Boone from his position as a Proprietors' Deputy following irregularities in their selection. This gave Morton control of the Council and enabled him in 1685 to achieve his only success, its signed agreement to the Fundamental Constitutions. His success was limited as the Assembly were only willing to agree to the original 1669 version.

Meanwhile, Sir Peter Colleton had written to the Governor of South Carolina on behalf of the Cardross expedition advising that the Proprietors had granted the Scots their own chosen township as the seat of justice for Port Royal County, provided it was conveniently and defensibly sited. Some alterations to the Fundamental Constitutions had been agreed to accommodate them but were rejected by the Scots and held in abeyance

following a seditious rumour that the Proprietary wished to enslave them. Cardross wrote to Peter Colleton on 27 March 1685.

We came here the beginning of November; sicklie as we were, we most confess the countrie is verie pleasent and desirable and promiseth weell enough, better by far than any other place in Carolina that we had occasione to see. We settled ourselves altogether in a verie convenient place for a toun being about twentie miles from the mouth of the river Port Royall where its all along Navigabell by (vessels of)200 or 300 tuns, free of swamps and marishes, a high bloffe land (lying inland from Hilton's Head) excellently weell watered, of such wholesome air as many of us quickly recovered, and none have contracted sickness since we came tho many died of the sicknes they contracted at Charelstoun at our first arrivall.¹⁶

Cardross was optimistic about the prospects for the new settlement and anticipated quick reinforcement. He also asked for the Proprietor's authority to name deputies which would have made the settlement independent within South Carolina. He had no intention of becoming subordinate to the Governor and Council at Charleston and had informed them of his agreement with the Proprietary to this effect.¹⁷ Cardross's plans to communicate with the Cussatoe and Yamasee Indians had provoked the jealousy of the Charleston Indian traders and a new Scottish settlement in tentative alliance with their neighbouring Indians was certain to antagonise the Spaniards as their northern boundary retracted. They had already responded to the Bahamas settlement in 1684 by raiding New Providence.¹⁸

We are in order to this plan laying down a method for correspondence and treade with Cuita and Cussita (Cussatoe) nations of Indians, who leive upon the passages betwixt us and New Mexico. and who have for severall yeirs left off any Comercie with the Spaniards; but, Sir, these our endeavors do already provock the Inevey of severall particular persones, who, meinding their own privat Intrist mor than that of the lords proprietors or good of the province, doe so grudge

¹⁶Lord Cardross and William Dunlop to Sir Peter Colleton, G. P. Insh, "The Carolina Merchant", *SHR*, Vol XXV (1928), pp. 100-4.

¹⁷*CSPC*, 1695-88, No. 92.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 1681-85, No. 1509.

both at the situation of this place doth give us advantage for trade more than these and that they find us ready to improve that advantage, that they doe opres our designe and endeavour to render us contemptible in the eyes of the Indians about us, yet our cariage towards all our nightbour indians heath beine sutch as we have a firme peace and comerce with them; particularlie we have obliged the Jamessie nation, which is the most considerable of them all, and which were laitle under the Spainzard at St. Augustine and admited to setle heire within our bounds by the Government of Charlestoun the last year since our contract with you; and we have consented to them that they remaine here during their good behaviour, and the truth is *they are so considerable and warlike that we would not doe utherwayes.*¹⁹

Cardross did not have to wait long for the inevitable Spanish reaction.

In August 1686, Spanish troops invaded South Carolina to counter Yamasee Indian raids into Florida provoked by Cardross. The Spaniards destroyed seven houses in the new settlement at Stuart's Town.²⁰ They penetrated fifty miles to the Edisto river where they burned down Governor Morton's house. They were halted by a hurricane before they could march the final twenty-five miles to attack Charleston and retired to Florida. The South Carolina militia, in hot pursuit, could not catch them. James Colleton arrived in November 1686 as Morton was preparing a major expedition in retaliation.²¹ Morton had not been reappointed Governor but was holding temporary office as President of the Council. This is an important factor in determining the manner of James Colleton's accession. The Proprietary chose not to confirm Morton having already terminated his first period of office. Once again, as in his previous terms of office, he had been unable to control the Goose Creek men, especially Mathews and Moore. He had given up the unequal struggle, allowing free rein to the Indian slave trade and piracy. The Proprietors ordered his arrest in March 1687.²²

¹⁹Lord Cardross to Sir Peter Colleton, *SHR*, Vol XXV (1928), pp. 100-4.

²⁰CSCP, 1685-88, No. 1161.

²¹Date given by Sirmans, *CSC*, p. 44.

²²CSPC, 1685-88, No. 1165.

Colleton, who lived in Barbados, held no office there. He is incorrectly reported "by virtue of his dignity (to have) assumed the office of Governor".²³ He neither seized office by claiming precedence over Morton, or assumed power without authority, but was formerly appointed, most likely sailing with his commission from Barbados.²⁴ Edward Randolph, Surveyor General of Customs in America, writing in March 1699 to the Council for Trade, thirteen years after the event, records, "but James Colleton came from Barbados *with a commission* to the Governor".²⁵ The commission was signed in London on 30 August 1686 and would have reached Colleton in Barbados by mid-October, or in Carolina by mid-November.²⁶

James may have been accompanied by his household to Charleston. He was married in Barbados about 1683 and had a three year old son John. His father-in-law is said by many historians to have been the future Governor of Barbados, James Kendall, son of Chiswick merchant, Thomas, a close friend of Sir John Colleton. A study of relative ages and events shows this to be unlikely and almost impossible.²⁷ There is one matter

²³James Colleton was the senior Landgrave of Carolina. This quotation is from *Colonial Period*, p. 231.

²⁴Andrews' error possibly arises from a belief that James Colleton was prompted by the award of a Landgrave's title in 1686. In fact he was the first ever recipient of the title in 1671. See his patent, Appendix D. He was also unaware, apparently, of Colleton's Governor's commission. *Colonial Period*, p. 231.

²⁵CSPC, 1699, No. 183.

²⁶CSPC, 1685-88. No. 834.

²⁷James Kendall (1647-1708) was a captain in the Coldstream Guards and retired from the army in 1685.

He left England for Barbados in 1690 and was Governor until 1694 when he returned home. The History of Parliament and his will indicate that he was a bachelor. By 1687 he had inherited all of his father's Caribbean property, including Buckland Plantation in St John's, Barbados, which was close to the Colleton plantation.

During his governorship Kendall took as his mistress (Miss) Walker Colleton, daughter of Colonel Thomas Colleton, and left her an estate of £40,000, mostly in the West Indies.

James Colleton's only son, John, was born in Barbados in 1683, seven years before James Kendall's arrival. (See J. Forster, ed., *Alumni Oxoniensis*, 1500-1714, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1887-8), I, p. 305) On Walker Colleton's death the beneficiary was her natural son, James Kendall. (PCC Wake 154 of 13 August 1735: will proved 1 July 1737.) The legacy included the Kendall Plantation in Barbados. James Kendall's

about which there can be little doubt; the suggestion to the Proprietary for James's appointment had come from Sir Peter. The commission from William, Earl Craven, Palatine of Carolina, proclaims,

I out of the trust and confidence I have of the Wisdom, Prudence, Integrity and ability of you James Colleton Doe hereby constitute and appoint you James Colleton, Governour and Commander in Cheife ... with full power and authority to doe Act and Execute all such Jurisdictions and powers by vertue of our ffundamentall Constitutions, Temporary Lawes and Instructions a Governor ought to doe and exercise... during my pleasure.²⁸

The significance and authority of his arrival would have been unequivocal if he carried his commission with him.²⁹ His appointment had the emphasis of Proprietary approval rather than "force majeure" or assumption by precedence over Morton which some historians have unfairly claimed as the first unacceptable act of his administration.³⁰ The causes of resentment or opposition to his governorship by Morton may also have been given the wrong emphasis. Colleton must have taken office with some small comfort that resistance to him would also be a challenge to the authority of Proprietary.

The Proprietors could not have known about the sacking of Stuart's Town by the Spanish when they commissioned Colleton and his warrant gave no support to any anti-Spanish activity. Similarly, instructions for co-operation with the Spanish must have either been in an accompanying

will has no mention of a daughter Ann. It is correctly summarised in the *Westminster Abbey Register*, p. 264.

I am much obliged to the Kendall historian James P. Derriman, a retired lawyer, who investigated the problem thoroughly. He could cast no further light and agrees that there is no evidence of Kendall's marriage or of a daughter.

For contradictory accounts see "Charles Garth", p. 443; *Visitations*, p. 218, (inconsistently Kendall is shown as a bachelor by the same author, *Visitations of the County of Cornwall*, p. 262); Burke's - P (1856), which shows Kendall married to Thomas Colleton's daughter, and "CFSC", p. 331.

²⁸For a contemporary record copy of the original see PRO CO 5/288.

²⁹The address for the commission had not been recorded, unfortunately. Its existence and dating refute the hypothesis that he assumed office.

³⁰e.g., by C.M. Andrews, see above page 184n.

letter or, alternatively, Colleton's own policy. Edward Randolph reported to the Lords of Trade James Colleton's reaction to the Morton expedition against the Spanish. He "threatened to hang them if they proceeded The truth is there was a design on foot to carry on a trade with them (by Colleton)"³¹ His appointment was almost certainly solely motivated by the need for a powerful Proprietary man to restore authority, deal effectively with the anti-proprietary party and ensure compliance with their instructions, especially on piracy and the Indian trade. Morton was an unacceptable option and his submission to law breakers had resulted in his previous dismissal. Colleton seemed to be the only suitable candidate with the apparent qualifications of a Governor.

Superficially, Colleton's credentials were good. He was legally trained and had been called to the Bar in 1666. He was the son of the founder Proprietor and brother of a current one. He came from an established Barbadian planter family, was well-qualified to reach an understanding with his countrymen and had a large personal stake in the future of Carolina. Strangely, there is no mention in the surviving records of Barbados of his occupation before Governorship.³² He returned to the island after being called to the English Bar in 1666. Between 1666 and 1686 there is a twenty-year gap in his biography except for the Bridges killing of 1674. A Barbados document records him as the friend of a testator in April 1684 and Maurice Mathews mentioned a visit by Colleton to Carolina in 1678.³³ By the time of his appointment he had acquired substantial property there.³⁴ The Barbados records contain many

³¹CSPC, 1699, No. 183.

³²Sirmans states, incorrectly, that he had been a Barbados Assemblyman. CSC, p. 45.

³³RB 6/10, p. 217, M. Mathews to ?, 18 May 1680, Edinburgh University Library, La II 718/1, Laing MSS.

³⁴There was a Colleton property on the lower Ashley River, of which all trace has vanished, between the Governor's House and the Proprietors' Plantation. It was south of the creek which formed the southern limit of Charles Town. Sir Peter built a house about one mile up Wappoo Creek. The house shown north of "Mr Colleton" described "Governor's House" was occupied by Joseph West. (contd. over)

references to the offices of his brothers Peter and Thomas during the same period.³⁵

Colleton's responsibility to the Proprietary was in conflict with the interests of the Barbadian element of the anti-Proprietary party. To the Goose Creek men the maintenance of Barbadian settler attitudes came before subservience to a Proprietor's man, even a fellow Barbadian. The history of Barbados shows that political and personal self-interest came before loyalty to home government or proprietors. Precedents had been firmly established. The need to correct irregularities was the most likely reason for Colleton's appointment. It is hardly surprising that the Dissenter community did not all give support to an Anglican who had superseded their first Dissenter Governor and whose immediate action was to countermand Morton's planned retaliation against the Spanish. Many of them did so. Colleton had made diplomatic overtures to the Spanish Governor in Florida and pressed for compensation. Peter H Wood records that it was Colleton's intention to reopen trading relations swiftly, allegedly for the sale of slaves to the Spanish. This accusation made in 1690 to Colleton's successor by his detractors in the Assembly, that the trade had been designed "for the hopes of a little filthy lucre", is not confirmed by evidence of any plan.³⁶ It was opportunity used to discredit James and the Proprietary. It would have annoyed the Goose Creek community to hear that their activities in transporting Indian slaves had just been branded by Peter Colleton as "barbarous".³⁷

The detention of Spanish ships buying slaves in English Plantation ports, principally in Jamaica, had been excluded in the Navigation Acts by

Wadboo Barony, too remote for an official residence, was the principal of his three up-country plantations. There were early buildings on the east side of Wadboo Creek which are said to have been destroyed during the Revolution.

"CFSC", pp. 300-1. See also Appendices A, C, maps on pp 113,151,201 and Table 5.

³⁵RB3, RB6. 1660-86.

³⁶*Black Majority*, p. 50.

³⁷CSPC, 1689-92, No. 1118.

the Lords of Trade in 1685, just one year before James' Governorship.³⁸ Their approval of Spanish purchases was implicit. Trading in black slaves was neither illegal nor discouraged unlike Indian transportation in which his accusers had indulged. The certain evidence is that Colleton made diplomatic overtures to the Spanish Governor of Florida and pressed for compensation for their raid on South Carolina. Both initiatives would have been in accord with Proprietary and Crown policy had all the facts been known and had there been time for their prior approval. The home government would rather have appeased than antagonised Spain .

Six months before James Colleton landed at Charleston his nephew, Charles, the natural son of Sir Peter, had received a 500 acre grant from the Proprietary.³⁹ On the arrival of his uncle Charles switched allegiance to him from the anti-proprietary party.⁴⁰ His affiliation to the Goose Creek party, until James was installed, is confirmation that Barbadian affinities were stronger than loyalty to a remote father. Had similar action been more general amongst the Barbadians, the Proprietors' appointment of James would have been vindicated. Colleton set about the elimination of privateers and abuses of the Indians, especially slavery, with single-minded determination. In 1688 he wrote, "Since I came to the Government there have been no pirates nor other Sea robbers admitted nor had any reception in this province without being brought to condigne punishment".⁴¹ It was more than could be said for any of his predecessors. His first set-back came as the result of a deliberate ruse to discredit him. This was conceived by Goose Creek men, principally Barbadians, determined to thwart his success in curtailing their prosperous and illegal trade. They offered to help raise his inadequate salary by backing his application for an increase then opposed him in

³⁸CSPC 1685-88, No. 120.

³⁹The grant was signed by Craven, Sir Peter, and his kinsman Thomas Amy. CSPC, 1685-88, No. 631.

⁴⁰He married Madam Robert Quarry's maid Nancy (or Ann) Shepherd, daughter of James Colleton's housekeeper. Stewart described her as "the bewty of the country". 20th October 1693, "Stewart's Letters", p.171, 27 April 1690; *Ibid.*, p.32.

⁴¹CSC, p. 45.

Council when his application was received. His allies in the Proprietary party were alienated, the Goose Creek men denounced his "extreme avarice" and his bill was defeated.⁴² This event is often cited as an example of Colleton's political naivety. Many Barbadians would have remembered the trial for unlawful killing of the watchkeeper in Bridgetown which must have gained him some notoriety.⁴³ His defence had been heard and accepted at trial but pre-empted by the King's dispensation in a demonstration of Sir Peter's influence with the Crown, but James Colleton was now a long way from sympathetic support. The Goose Creek men set their trap with some prospect of the bait being taken.⁴⁴ Michael Zuckerman has described James Colleton as an individual "whose actions provoked common people to choose representatives who would oppose him in everything".⁴⁵ He has been described as "arrogant and tyrannical" in the twentieth century introduction to a contemporary account by John Archdale. The account itself contains no evidence of either characteristic.⁴⁶ The Carolinians had little need to choose representatives to oppose him. Most of the Goose Creek men did so on principle, more because of his forthright methods of obtaining compliance to Proprietary policy rather than defects of character. They were no respecters of persons even if their governor was

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³This evidence of James Colleton's demeanour has been ignored. I have found no citations by authors listed in the Bibliography.

⁴⁴There is an instance of an apparent failure to meet financial obligations. On 12 January 1688 Captain William Davis of Barbados executed a power of attorney to "My Trusty and loveing son in law Captain Robt Gibbes (Acting Governor 1710-12), of the province of Carolina" to "aske demand require and recover and receive to and from ye right Honble James Colleton (sic) of Carolina Esqr full satisfaction for one Quarter part of a Ketch formerly called ye *Mary* Ketch of Carolina of about fifty Tuns", *Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina*, 1627-92, p. 117.

This is probably, the vessel subsequently sold in Barbados and described by Stewart as Colleton's. The sale vexed Colleton when he heard that freight rates had risen to £15 per ton. Stewart to William Dunlop, 27 April 1690, "Stewart Letters", SCHGM, Vol XXXII, (1931), p. 30.

⁴⁵"The Fabrication of an Identity in Early America", *WMQ*, Vol. XXXIV (1977), p. 208.

⁴⁶See A. J. Salley's introduction to "Archdale's Description of Carolina", *Early Carolina*, pp. 295-6.

the son of a founder of the province to whom they mainly owed their presence in Carolina, brother of a Proprietor, Landgrave and fellow Barbadian. A successful opposition leading to Colleton's downfall would do more to underline their strength than the demise of a less well-attributed candidate.

The Proprietors wrote sternly to Colleton on 3 March 1687. They laid the blame for the Spanish incursion on the hostility of pirates provisioned by Charleston and sympathised with the Spanish response during Morton's governorship. They approved immediate retaliatory action in the event of a Spanish attack but not of permanent land seizure. Private vendettas against them were prohibited. John Boone was condemned for his assistance to pirates and ordered to be expelled again from the Grand Council following his readmittance by Morton. The Proprietors were still unaware of Cardross's provocation of the Spanish by his initiation of the Yamasee raid or the success of Governor Colleton's endeavours to suppress piracy.⁴⁷

The Goose Creek community attacked Colleton by denying the authority of his administration on the grounds that it was based on the 1682 revisions to the Fundamental Constitutions which were unacceptable to the parliamentary majority. Colleton gathered a representative group from the Council and Assembly in an attempt to find common ground. The Assembly representatives insisted on adherence to the original draft constitution of 1669. The Proprietors paid the penalty for their successive revisions, issued in good faith, which gave the assembly an opportunity to reject them and add to the confusion. In March 1687 the Proprietors confirmed the 1682 Constitutions.⁴⁸ The Indian trader and ex-Surveyor General Maurice Mathews of the anti-Proprietary party proposed that Charles II's 1665 Charter should be used as the constitution. This would have the effect of nullifying all the intermediate legislation and deregulating the Indian trade in which he had a vested

⁴⁷CSPC, 1685-88, No. 1161.

⁴⁸CSPC, 1685-88, No. 1162.

interest. The proposal was rejected by the Council. With Assembly opposition, Colleton saw no prospect of a constitutional agreement by parliament and decided not to recall the Assembly into session. The issue could be clearly defined as Proprietary insistence on the adoption of a constitution which a majority of the Assembly considered illegal because they did not approve it. They claimed a right to the approval of constitutional bills which had echoes in the sole right assumed by the Assembly to approve money bills during the last years of Crown rule in the eighteenth century. Colleton's provocative action was intended to uphold Proprietary authority.⁴⁹ The Proprietors had always declared a willingness to compromise "for the good of the people", but had perceptively stated in their instruction of 3 March 1687, "there would be no satisfying them except by yielding altogether to their ambition".⁵⁰ Colleton had an unequivocal remit not to yield, but his decision to suspend the Assembly was too final. It remained unsummoned for two years.

Control of Parliament by the anti-Proprietary party made confrontation with a strong-willed and uncompromising Governor inevitable. It was only two years later that the Lords of Trade forecast, perceptively, the need for a closer dependence of the proprietary colonies on the Crown. Their opinion was partly conditioned by the interests of defence against French imperialism but the deterioration of Proprietary influence might have had less dramatic effects if their Lordship's thoughts had been translated into action.

As to Maryland, Carolina and Pennsylvania, we think it worthy of consideration of Parliament whether these proprietaries should not be brought into closer dependence on the Crown.⁵¹

Governor Colleton was about to become a hostage to fortune, at odds with the political majority in Carolina and criticised by the Proprietary in

⁴⁹A. J. Salley claimed, without any cited evidence, that Colleton "totally disregarded the constitution and the law and the people drove him from the province". *Early Carolina*, p. 296n.

⁵⁰CSPC, 1685-88, No. 1162.

⁵¹CSPC, 1689-92, No. 124.

London for implementing their own policy too thoroughly. Ex-Governor Morton and the Blake family supported the Goose Creek men even though Benjamin Blake had been recommended to Colleton by the Proprietary to assist in his campaign against piracy. Initially many of the Dissenters supported Colleton.

The Proprietors' tone became peremptory by October 1687. They had received no report of his response to the matters they had raised seven months earlier and instructed, "You will amend this neglect".⁵² They had by now been advised that Cardross himself had initiated the first attack on the Spanish. Their language to Colleton was unpleasantly severe and aggrieved. He must have felt isolated from friendly support both in Carolina and the Proprietary where his own brother was a signatory to the instructions he received, normally in conjunction with Craven and Bath. He was not the first Governor of either Carolina or Barbados to be a poor communicator with London.⁵³ He may have used this simple tactic to avoid his decisions being countermanded and his position undermined. It had become almost impossible for him to succeed.

An event which was to be of some significance for James and his family on their permanent return to Barbados in 1694 was occurring meanwhile in London. The Lords of Trade were seeking a replacement Governor for Sir Richard Dutton and his deputy Edwin Steele in Barbados. Captain James Kendall had retired from the Coldstream Guards in 1685 as a bachelor after inheriting his share of his father's Caribbean plantations. By 1687 he had also inherited his brothers' shares, a niece as a ward, and one of the trusteeships of Sir John Colleton's Deed of Settlement.⁵⁴ This required the Trustees to supervise the settlement of the Colleton properties among his sons and their successors. James Kendall, therefore, already had a Colleton connection before his appointment to

⁵²CSPC, 1685-88, No. 1457.

⁵³e.g., Governor Sir Jonathan Atkins of Barbados and for similar reasons.

⁵⁴His father Thomas Kendall had been responsible for the unauthorised post-Restoration offer to the Crown of the 4 1/2 tax on sugar which became an aggravation to planters for 200 years. Harlow, *Barbados*, p. 136.

the Governorship of the colony in July 1689 and his arrival in May 1690. Sir Peter Colleton, while Acting Governor, had been concerned to have the post filled by a candidate with planter interests. His suggestion had then been ignored by the Crown but his own name was short-listed to the King by the Lords of Trade three times during 1689. Kendall's was included on the third occasion.⁵⁵ Sir Peter could have had the appointment and his Whig associations would have been acceptable to the new King. His presence in London was more important, to support a Proprietary weakened by inexperienced new members. Sir Peter's backing for Kendall would have been enough to secure him the nomination.

Another, more contentious, member of the Governor fraternity arrived, this time in Carolina, and his immediate alignment with the disaffected section of the community was unusual. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the ex-Governor of the Leeward Islands, settled in Carolina in 1689 and his support was enlisted by the anti-proprietary party in the climate of the Glorious Revolution in England, rebellions in other American colonies and rumours of a French invasion of Carolina following England's new continental alliance against Louis XIV.⁵⁶ The laws of Carolina began to expire and the first payment of quit rents fell due at a time when their constitutional legality was under threat. In an atmosphere of uncertainty and change in the colonies, James Colleton received support from John Stewart, one of the survivors of the Scottish settlement at Stuart's Town. His abilities were well known to Sir Peter. Recommended by the Proprietors early in 1690, he gave Colleton a detailed analysis and justification of the 1682 Fundamental Constitutions.⁵⁷ He argued a similarity to the 1665 Charter and the danger to religious freedom if it

⁵⁵CSPC, 1689-92, Nos. 109, 127, 224.

⁵⁶CSC, p. 46.

⁵⁷Stewart said he was rewarded with a gift of 500 acres through the good offices of his friend and the Proprietary, Sir Peter, "God Bless him". The Proprietors gave him 500 acres in 1689 for the improvement of production methods for cotton, silk and other commodities.

"Stewart's Letters", p. 1 and pp. 82,89.

were to be suspended. Armed with this document, Colleton was able to generate a desire for compromise by the moderates of both parties, including a number of Dissenters. When the Assembly refused to pass his Militia Act his nephew Charles, Dissenter Landgrave Thomas Smith and 150 other supporters raised a petition for martial law. Colleton was pressed to take this course as the only way of organising proper resistance to Indian and French attack. Stewart described the desperate shortage of gunpowder and military training. He advised the Governor that "his head wold answer" if he neglected to take the necessary defensive precautions.⁵⁸ In view of the unpopularity of his administration Colleton may have acted against his better judgement in surprised gratitude for substantial support from any quarter. He proclaimed martial law on 26 February 1690.

Colleton's behaviour shows that he was high-handed. According to Stewart he also had a "temper".⁵⁹ In dealing with an implacable and loyal "proprietor's man" his opponents reacted more strongly than would have been the case with an unaligned governor. After his unsuccessful earlier attempt to find common ground on constitutional issues Colleton now decided to tackle entrenched attitudes head-on. Most of his predecessors had backed down. Craven and Sir Peter saw the opportunity of James' governorship as a diminishing chance of gaining acceptance to constitutional revisions or indeed a Proprietor's Constitution. So much so, that after the attempt failed the Proprietors reverted in 1698 to an abbreviated and final version of the original text which was refused like all its predecessors, the Assembly maintaining its own right to approve the constitution.⁶⁰

When the Proprietors later investigated the circumstances leading to martial law they blamed all parties and censured none. Sir Nathaniel, according to Stewart, had been disposed against Colleton for his failure to

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 105, 106.

⁵⁹20 October 1693, *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁶⁰*Colonial Period*, p. 22.

seek advice from the recent "cap generall of the (Leeward) ilands" (Sir Nathaniel). Stewart's letters give an insight into the relationship between Johnson, Maurice Mathews and the Colleton brothers, although he had a colourful and sometimes fanciful imagination. Mathews' rancour stemmed from his suspensions by the Proprietary for illegal Indian trading, a decision influenced by Sir Peter. Stewart related a conversation with Mathews in which the latter made his feelings plain about the Colletons.

His malice and opness agst Govr. (Colleton) and Sir Peter prompted him to tell me all the ill he could say of (the) Governor and his lady and discourse that was abominable and wicked, which if the Govr. knew he would Kill him. He told me of Col Thomas (Colleton) in Barbados strange storyes and of Sr P. ignominious fables as that Sir P. sent a chalenge to (Mathews) by Mr. Shelton. (Secretary to the Proprietary)

The occasion of the challenge had been a visit by Mathews and Sir Nathaniel to London. The rendezvous for the duel was attended by Sir Nathaniel alone, Sir Peter did not keep the appointment, but later Johnson

clos'd up Sir P. in the Carol. coffehouse room at the head of the stairs; chalenged Sir P. on words spoke, ofer'd to draw, and threaten'd Sir P. that he should nevr go out of the room till he had satisfaction, bot recanted all, said he that Sr N was adviser (to) him.⁶¹

Mathews also told Stewart "that Sr N hated Sir Peter from his soul". Sir Peter was well capable of looking after himself but James Colleton had acquired a most experienced and powerful enemy working against his interest, far from any influential support. Stewart ended his account with another accusation by Mathews which may be the basis of evidence still used against Colleton. It was confirmed to Stewart by James Moore, another hostile source, a friend of Mathews and party to Colleton's downfall. Mathews said they

knew his honor Lov'd any proposall of gain and money profit. Captain Moor comes to Watbu (Wadboo Plantation belonging to James Colleton): claps up a compact with his honor to

⁶¹The Carolina Coffee House was the meeting place of the Proprietary. 23 June 1690, "Stewart's Letters", pp. 106,107.

allow him and 40 men to go a'trading to the Cherokees presently and he shall have half profit, without putting in any stock or deed of adventur.

This alleged arrangement would explain the source of the Goose Creek accusation that Colleton had been involved in an illegal Indian deal for his private interest. In October 1693 Stewart acknowledged in retrospect that he had traded for him with the "Cushadees".⁶²

On 18 October 1690, after his relief as Governor, Colleton was sent a revealing letter from the Proprietors, signed only by Craven and Sir Peter, which gives an indication of Sir Peter's personal dislike of Indian slavery. He appealed to his brother to prevent the transshipment of Indian slaves.

You will do your best to prevent this. These poor people have done us no injury We are determined to break this barbarous practice ...⁶³

Colleton had already issued an instruction in March forbidding any Indian trade except with his personal permission. Mathews and Moore responded with a direct challenge to his authority and reopened trade with the Cherokees. If Moore's story to Stewart about his private deal with the Governor was true Colleton would have been in a very weak position to restrain his opponents.⁶⁴

Colleton had a new responsibility for the first collection of quit rents which had begun to fall due. Collection could not be exercised without a sitting Assembly. The Proprietors later gave the avoidance of payment as one of the reasons for the promotion of disturbances by the Goose Creek men. They rallied to Seth Sothel, a Lord Proprietor by purchase of the Clarendon share, banished by the assembly of North Carolina and suspended by the Proprietors as its Governor.⁶⁵ Five hundred of them petitioned Sothel to assume the Governorship on the grounds that as a

⁶²20 October 1693, *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁶³CSPC, 1689-92, No. 1118.

⁶⁴C.M. Andrews thought that Colleton's debarment might have been concerned with Indian trade, *Colonial Period*, p. 231.

⁶⁵CSPC, 1693-96, No. 705.

Proprietor he outranked Colleton.⁶⁶ Colleton tried to call out an unresponsive militia and Sothel seized power on 6 October 1690 partly out of grievance for his banishment. Once again the predominantly Barbadian anti-Proprietary faction had secured control of the government. They had contrived a grievance to justify the subvention of proprietary authority which would enable them to revoke legislation designed to restrict their commercial activities.

The Proprietary had made unrealistic demands on their Governor. They could hardly have expected to impose one of the variations of the Fundamental Constitutions on South Carolina twenty years after the first settlement. In 1688 the Proprietors sent Sothel a justification of the latest Constitution which took several pages to deploy.⁶⁷ His suppliers used the opportunity for dispute to reinstate their profitable Indian trade, which the Proprietors had long sought to regulate. They imputed the same motives to Colleton by his support of the '82 Constitutions. If Colleton did see the Indian trade as a potential private fief, as his accusers have said, Wadboo was well-placed to exploit the opportunities "by reason of the distance the most convenient place for that trading.... from the settled part of this Collony".⁶⁸ The anti-proprietary party insinuated that there were rational grounds for believing he had a secret partner in England. This was intended as a reflection on the probity of Sir Peter. James had no other trading partners in England.⁶⁹ There were many disaffected private Indian traders in Goose Creek, a few miles south of Wadboo, who would have soon reported proscribed activities by Colleton. No evidence of any has survived except Mathew's suspect report of Moore's trap.

⁶⁶Sothel is said to have become deranged by his experience of captivity by Algerian pirates on his way to take up the governorship of North Carolina in 1678. *Colonial Period*, p. 256.

⁶⁷CSPC, 1685-88, No. 1962.

⁶⁸Verner W. Crane, *Southern Frontier*, p. 141.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

The old Indian traders and privateers were quick to capitalise on the opportunities offered by Sothel's governorship. There is no evidence that his successor Governor Ludwell ever carried out an investigation required by the Proprietors into the allegations against Colleton. It would have answered a lot of questions. Item Three of Philip Ludwell's private instructions of 8 November 1691, on appointment to the governorship, makes the objectors challenge to Colleton clear. It hints at the Proprietors' distaste of any implication of their collusion with James Colleton over the Indian trade. Ludwell was to examine and report on the charge that Colleton had "sett up martial law thereby ye better to impresse ye Indian trade to himself and their Lordships".⁷⁰ The instructions attributed to Colleton's opponents an opinion that the restrictive constitutional conditions on Indian trade of the 1682 Constitution could only be upheld by direct rule. The Governor had therefore used martial law to take advantage of the impasse. Colleton's view was alleged to be that the use of the 1665 Charter as a constitution, the objective of the anti-proprietary party, would be to permit lawlessness and end control of the Indian trade. If this really was Colleton's own view it seems entirely rational and was confirmed by events.

Colleton was barred from political office by the parliament of South Carolina in December 1690 in a copybook repeat of North Carolina's rejection of Sothel a few months earlier; so were his nephew Charles and his principal supporters. He was ordered by the Assembly to answer charges in England and to be banished from the colony. The ending by the Proprietors of Sothel's administration in May 1691 meant that neither instruction could be put into effect.⁷¹ James received surprisingly

⁷⁰CSPC, 1689-92, No. 1886. The words quoted are from the original text.

⁷¹James Colleton's first recorded presence in Barbados after the Governorship was 11 September 1694. Most historians assumed that he left Carolina in 1692. This was probably not the case. Ludwell arrived in November 1691 to take over from Sothel, whose enactments were declared invalid by the Proprietors. On 6 February 1693 Ludwell and Colleton were authorised by the Proprietors to grant land in Carolina. They would not have authorised Colleton unless he was in the province and expected to stay there for a reasonable time. He had certainly returned finally to Barbados by mid-1694. He was the most likely Colleton author of letters to John Stewart written during summer 1693 from Barbados.

lukewarm support from his brother Sir Peter and the other Proprietors until May 1691, possibly because of their disapproval of his declaration of martial law. When the Proprietary heard news of his banishment, the young Shaftesbury expressed outrage.⁷² In an understandable reaction to events of near panic, the Proprietary despatched six letters to their representatives in Carolina over the period 12-14 May, all calling for action or information.⁷³ They also wrote on 13 May to complain about attack by a South Carolina settler on the Cherokee Indians which they percipiently remarked could have had dangerous consequences for the whole of America.

The Indian wars which followed, not directly connected with this event but the concern of future agent Joseph Boone, came dangerously close to eliminating the Carolina settlement.⁷⁴ The breakdown in relations with the Indians was largely the result of trading activities dominated by the anti-proprietary Goose Creek men. Sothel confined and regulated the Indian trade to his own advantage with one-third of the export duty diverted to his pocket. He gave active support to the pirates and destroyed the one benefit of Colleton's administration. The Proprietors suspended him as soon as they became aware of his outrageous activities in their name. Such was the Carolinian manifestation of revolutionary action in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. In Carolina the disturbances were a combination of existing grievances and the restoration of the power of the Goose Creek community rather than a

Sir Peter died on 24 March 1694. James was agent for his Barbados affairs. His nephew Peter (aged about twenty) had probably taken over the management of Colleton Plantation on his father Thomas's death in 1691. James was elected a member of the Barbados Assembly, for the first time, for the session of 1694. It first met on 11 September 1694. He won one of the two seats in St John's, the other going to Sir Peter's brother-in-law, Colonel John Leslie. Also on 11 September 1694 James was elected Speaker of the Assembly. From then until his death he was resident in Barbados. CSPC, 1693-96, Nos. 52, 1307; RB. 6/10, p. 217, and PRO CO. 28/4, f. 13.

⁷²Grandson of the first Earl of Shaftesbury. SP 30/24, 23-42.

⁷³There were twelve letters in all on the subject, ten in one day. CSPC, 1689-92, Nos. 1488-99.

⁷⁴See Chapter Nine.

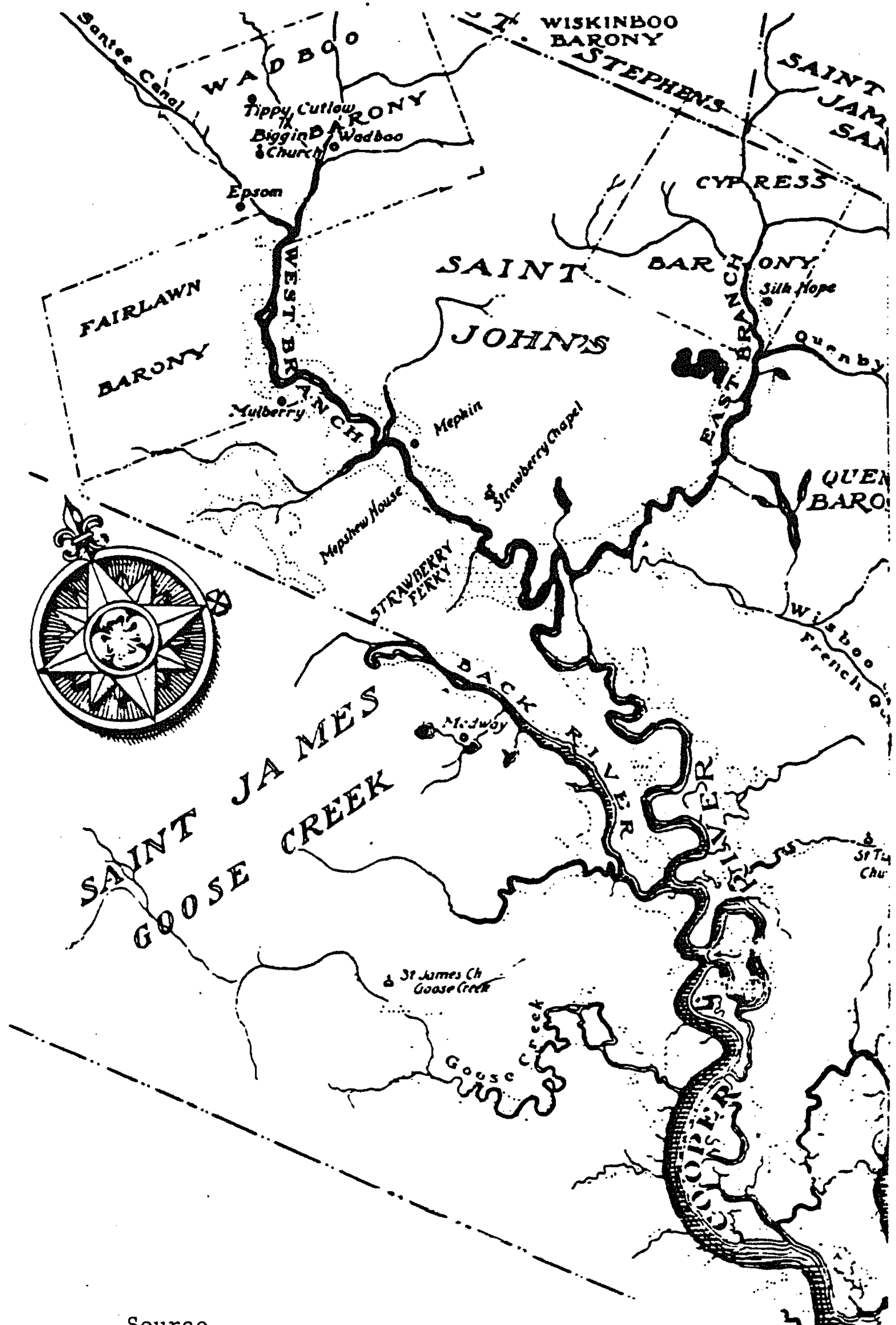
spontaneous or collaborative rejection of English authority. The failure of Colleton's attempt to bring order and system to the fractious province, and the aftermath with Sothel, did much to discredit laudable Proprietary intentions and the rule of law. It took the next two governors after Ludwell three years to restore good order to South Carolina but the end of Proprietary authority had been signalled. The first exercise of government by both the son of a founder proprietor and a proprietor by purchase had failed.⁷⁵

James Colleton suffered deliberate and prolonged "character assassination" by the Goose Creek men. This continued after Sothel's assumption of the Governorship as part of the campaign to discredit the Proprietary and their constitutional policy. Its effects have survived through repetition and innuendo, partly because of Colleton's determination to uphold Proprietary rule and partly because his manner, behaviour and lack of judgment were unattractive. His reputation continues to be impeached by historians who have accepted the criticism of his opponents and who give no credit for his loyalty and determination. Colleton's colleagues and appointees were not only re-established and endorsed but under Governor Thomas Smith ran the first effective administration of South Carolina. The laws passed during his office were also reinstituted. Even more significantly, Robert Quarry, past Temporary Governor, Robert Daniel, future Temporary Governor, and John Moore all fled from South Carolina in order to avoid suits against them by Colleton for the issue of illegal imprisonment and banishment orders.⁷⁶ Quarry and Daniel were Barbadians. Two of their colleagues, Powis and Harris, died in Barbados within two years.

After Colleton's replacement as Governor, he had three years in Carolina to develop his plantation interests. His brother Thomas died in

⁷⁵CSPC, 1689-92, No. 1887.

⁷⁶It would be surprising if the Councillors who fled to Barbados on Sothel's replacement in 1692 went there to avoid prosecution by James on his home ground unless they knew he intended to remain in Carolina. The Daniel Plantation in Barbados was only five miles from the Colleton Leeward estates. 20 October 1693, "Stewart's Letters", pp. 171-2



Source

Adapted from a map by A.T.S. Stoney in John B. Irving, A Day on Cooper River, ed., Louisa C. Stoney, (Columbia, South Carolina: St. John's Hunting Club, 1932).

Barbados in 1691, releasing one-third of the joint land held in common in Carolina.⁷⁷ This devolved upon himself and Sir Peter. It included the 2,000-acre plantation of Mepshoo on the west bank of the Cooper River, south of Sir Peter's seignory of Fairlawn, and 3,000 acres at Mepkin, on the opposite bank. Mepshoo, Mepkin and substantial town lots in Charleston became James' sole property when Sir Peter died in 1694, giving him a minimum of 18,000 acres.⁷⁸ He had to arrange investment and cropping policies with overseers, especially for land not yet under cultivation. He did this effectively as the future value of the properties later confirmed and there is no evidence of any long visits to Carolina before his own death in Barbados in 1706.

John Stewart, the voluble entrepreneur, had already provided political service to the Governor. Among his other numerous activities was an interest in the cultivation of rice which was to become a staple of Carolina and promote a revolution in her economy. He reported:

The Governor (Colleton) both in savannah and swamp sow'd his Rice thin aftr the Gooscreek philosophers' old measurs, and when it wes 6 inches above ground, I advised him to plow all up again and sow at least 2 bushel and a half on an acre not in Rows or planted but as Barly, and now without any weeding or howing he has a most glorious and hopefull crop of Rice beyond any feild of corne I evr saw in Europ.⁷⁹

Abandoned rice fields on the edge of Wadboo Barony at Rice Hope and at nearby Mulberry on Fairlawn Seignory still show evidence that early

⁷⁷His will is reproduced at Appendix G as an example of planter's concern for the disposal of his property and chattels. His wife Mary died the following year which was marked in the Caribbean by a rampaging yellow fever epidemic.

Thomas had acquired seven servants from a consignment of Monmouth rebellion emigrants after 1685 for employment at Colleton. Their descendants, known as "Red Legs" have married almost exclusively within their number and many of them live as a community on the eastern edge of the Colleton Plantation at St John's. RB 6 41. 448, John C. Hotten, *The Original List of Emigrants, 1600-1700*, (London, 1874), pp. 343, 464.

⁷⁸According to surveys, but not included in CSPC, more land was granted. See Table 5, Appendix C and map page 201.

⁷⁹27 April 1690, "Stewart's Letters", pp. 21-22, 24; 23 June 1690, *Ibid.*, p. 86.

planting took place there.⁸⁰ The exact date and therefore the proof that Wadboo was the original plantation responsible for the introduction of an economic and agrarian revolution is more difficult to establish. Stewart was Overseer to James Colleton's Barony and was taking an active part in rice cultivation in the 1690s. It can be deduced from Stewart's letters that the first experiments started in the 1680s.⁸¹ Wadboo had the great benefit of plentiful water for irrigation and the Cooper River was navigable for ships up to the plantation. John Stewart's letters from Wadboo in 1690 disclose the crop acreage already cultivated by that date.

70 acres of pease all in one patch and 10 in the savannah, 2 acres of barley, 17 of wheat and 15 of ryce and 2 of cotton and one of indigo (and) 30 of Indian corne.⁸²

The type and quality of crops grown show that they were adequate to sustain a large labour force, and leave a high proportion for sale. The quality must have been exceptional if Stewart is to be believed.

The Govr has two acres (of barley) the ears in generall ar 5 inches 1/2 long of measures" and "Our Ryce is better esteem'd of in Jamaica than that from Europe.⁸³

He also described Colleton's entertainment of Sir Nathaniel Johnson with "16 dishes of meat and (a) variety of wines".⁸⁴ To provide such a meal the mansion must have been constructed by this time. No evidence of it remains. Easterby commented on the use of slave labour at Wadboo:

Scant, however, as this evidence is, if supplemented by the information contained in the following documents (footnotes) it leaves little doubt that, from the time of its first owner (James Colleton) Wadboo was steadily in operation, employing a force of slaves under the management of

⁸⁰Rice Hope became the property of Francis Kinloch's father and then of a brother in 1784. Francis was ward to Governor Thomas Boone in the 1770s. See "Kinloch Letters", p. 91. In 1988 Mulberry was owned by the Historic Charleston Foundation and is a National Historic landmark. This gives an indication of the quality and significance of this early Plantation house.

⁸¹27 April 1690, "Stewart's Letters", pp. 16,17, 21.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 24.

overseers who were directed by the Colleton's agents in Charleston. Forest products were obviously the chief source of profit ... but rice and indigo were staple crops.⁸⁵

The problem was to develop the correct methods of planting and husking rice. Progress was observed by Edward Randolph in 1697 and success had been achieved by 1699 when 330 tons were exported from the province.⁸⁶ Landgrave and Governor Joseph Blake made a heavy investment in rice production before the turn of the century and rice was the principle traded commodity from James Colleton's plantations during the first half of the eighteenth century.⁸⁷ From his Barbados experience, Colleton appreciated the potential of black labour to work his plantations. He had started to make use of them at Wadboo before his final return to Barbados in 1693 or 1694.⁸⁸ They were also used at Silk Hope on the edge of his nephew Peter Colleton's recently inherited Barony of Cypress where Sir Nathaniel Johnson cultivated silk as an experimental crop. White servants had proved unsuitable for planting partly due to their susceptibility to swamp diseases. Writing from Wadboo, Stewart reported that as many as 24,000 mulberry trees had been planted at Silk Hope in 1690.⁸⁹ The question arises as to the nature of the labour force employed for sowing and other menial tasks in the early days of rice cultivation. Unfortunately Stewart gives little clue except mention of feeding slaves

⁸⁵J. H. Easterby, ed., *Wadboo Barony, Its Fate as told in the Colleton Family Papers, 1773-93*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), pp. viii, ix.

⁸⁶Cypress wood from Wadboo was used in the construction of the beautiful Anglican Church of St Michael, Charleston, built 1752-61 and attended by Governor Thomas Boone. See *Ibid.*, p. ix and A.L. Quattlebaum and Elise Pinckney, eds., *A Guide to St Michael's Church, Charleston*, (Charleston: Nelson's Southern Printing Co., 1979) p. 28.

⁸⁷CSC, p. 56.

⁸⁸Peter H. Wood provides very interesting evidence that many African slaves were already familiar with rice growing techniques in Africa. A popular conjecture that slaves initially concealed their knowledge to avoid an unpleasant task, is felt by some South Carolina historians to require more substantiation. They include Professor L. S. Rowland of the University of South Carolina, Beaufort, who discussed this subject with the author on 20 April 1988. In *Black Majority*, pp. 59-62, Wood cites SCHGM, Vol. XII (1911), pp. 43-52, and Vol. XXXII (1931), pp. 21-22, for evidence of the early use of black labour at Wadboo by James Colleton. His second citation has no mention of *black* labour.

⁸⁹27 April 1690, "Stewart's Letters", p.7.

with rice.⁹⁰ He made a proposal to Governor Colleton that he should obtain 300 *Indians* under contract yearly from the Yamasee king for work in silk and cotton. He resented the fact that Colleton had taken up this idea himself and made a private bargain with the Yamasees for three hundred hands for seven years.

Would God Sir Peter were living here. I should quickly have a gallant estate. Hard state of life at present; would I evr dream'd that he (James Colleton) wold snatch from me my darling projection and pregnant hope? He tels me now he thought on the project long befor I discours'd it.⁹¹

Whether the Indians ever worked the Wadboo rice fields is unfortunately not disclosed by Stewart.⁹² He does disclose his disenchantment with James Colleton. Three years later Stewart provided more evidence of Colleton's character. Writing from Virginia on 20 October 1693 he recalled:

I had 3 letrs this last summer from Landgrave Colleton which I have now by me, he solicits me earnestly not to leave Carolina *till he come there* because, says he in his letters that I will be highly usefull to setle the publick affairs there (thes are the words of his leters) and that he assures me he hes procur'd great maters for me from the lords ... and that if I goe by the way of Barbadoes pray, says he, make my ho-w-se your home whill I stay there; bot as I am very much oblidge'd to him for his offers and goodwill, yet on the other hand I Know him too too well, etc.; he tels me also he has sent to London for £1000 worth of Indian trade and that it wes then at sea coming for Carolina and he sent for it apurpose to Imploy me to trade with among Indians upon a $\frac{1}{4}$ of the net profite, but I returned him an answer to that, that I wold trade for non(e) but myselfe unles I had the half of net profite. It's true I do not love to be concern'd with one of his Tempr.⁹³

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹¹23 June 1690, *Ibid.*, p.94.

⁹²If this can be proved to be the case it would be a matter of some significance to South Carolina historical circles.

⁹³Stewart had recommended this expenditure on which he anticipated a 200% profit for the investor. In October 1693 he gave his next address as Sir Peter's home in London which indicates their familiarity.

Mabel L. Webber identifies "Landgrave" Colleton as Thomas Colleton. Stewart received the "Landgrave's" letters in summer 1693, but Thomas had been dead since

While he was still based on his Wadboo Plantation James Colleton could import black labour from the Caribbean but in view of the international political situation and the growing requirements of his own and other plantations he would have had little inclination to export them to the Spanish. He had access to slaves from Barbados and his brother Sir Peter was still an Assistant to the Court of the Royal African Company which continued to hold the monopoly for their provision until 1698. It is unlikely that slaves with experience of rice growing in Africa or South Carolina would have been traded knowingly with the Spanish or the French for competitive reasons. The expanding black population gave rise to the same fears of an uprising in Carolina, voiced for so many years in Barbados, where they were shortly to be justified.

In November 1692 Kendall sounded the first warning note:

Our most dangerous enemies are our black slaves; and the frequent alarms to prevent their devilish designs have ... so much revealed our weakness that I shall not send so many men off the island as I have intended...⁹⁴

The "devilish designs" were plans by Ben and Sambo in October 1692 to release prisoners from gaol, which were twice postponed by unexpected changes in troop disposition. They were ordered to be starved and tortured into confession. The ringleaders were favoured servants who had been engaged in recruiting four black regiments of Foot and two of Horse. A rising was forestalled by news of successes against the French. The first victim was to have been Governor Kendall followed by the capture of forts, sinking of the ships in harbour and setting fire to the best part of Bridgetown. A few of the most trusted slaves in outlying areas were to kill their masters, followed by neighbours, until they reached Bridgetown. A rising had been forecast for many years as the numbers increased with no corresponding rise in white population. The severe interrogation and

May 1691. His son Peter inherited the title. After 1690 Stewart referred to James as Governor or Landgrave. The context of Stewart's comments ("I knew him too well" and another recognisable remark about his misdemeanour) make James the most likely correspondent, writing from Barbados during a visit. Stewart would not have been on familiar terms with Peter. 20 October 1693, "Stewart's Letters", pp. 171-3.

⁹⁴CSPC, 1689-92, No. 2599.

suppression of the prisoners deterred any further risings. The report of the Commissioners of Enquiry has no follow-up in the State Papers and Kendall's introduction to it is surprisingly brief and unemotional. Despite white fears, when warnings of a likely rising circulated, they caused much less alarm than might have been expected. Instant repression may have been more comprehensive than the State Papers reveal. The punishment was certainly exemplary. The implications were important to all slave-owning communities in the Caribbean and the Americas where the ethnic balance was now unfavorable to white settlers. South Carolina had almost reached black/white equilibrium due to the requirements of the plantations. It would have been understandable not to admit any possibility of a successful outcome and Kendall may have controlled the release of information.

Kendall was involved in Sir Peter's last intervention in Barbados affairs. In November 1692 Colleton confirmed his even-handed attitude towards non-conformists. He took exception to a 1692 Act regulating elections to the Assembly. It stipulated that members of the Assembly should produce certificates that they had taken the Anglican sacrament before they could be enrolled as representatives. Sir Peter's brother-in-law John Leslie was one of those who could not produce a certificate. Although Leslie had been an Assembly man for St John's during the 1692-3 session, Kendall declared the election void.⁹⁵ Sir Peter considered the Act to be against the interests of the King's service and asked to be heard before it was confirmed. Kendall was incensed that the King's order to disallow the Act was sent direct to the returning officer in July 1693. He was not informed officially until 2 August.⁹⁶

Now if Sir Peter Colleton is entrusted with any superintendence over the island I must submit to it; but if not, I conceive he cannot answer for not sending the King's order directly to me much less for directing it (for private and sinister ends) to be kept from me ...

⁹⁵The English Toleration Act allowed freedom of worship to Protestant non-conformists, but municipal offices and crown appointments were reserved for Anglican communicants.

⁹⁶ CSPC, 1693-6, No. 568.

Although the destination of the letter to the returning officer had been instructed by Sir Peter his motive for not informing the Governor is unclear. The King's revocation of the Act resulted in the dissolution of the Assembly. Sir Peter's discourtesy was not explained, nor why he was entrusted with the routing of an official communication which should have gone direct from the Lords of Trade to the Governor. Kendall's action to exclude non-conformists from elected office was similar in effect and consequence to Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson's over the South Carolina Exclusion Act of 1703, eleven years later.⁹⁷ The Barbados event was final confirmation that Sir Peter indeed held a special position in the regulation of its affairs. There was justification in Kendall's complaint of superior right; Sir Peter was deferred to by the Lords of Trade as though he had a recognised claim to superintendence over the island.

Sir Peter and Kendall could not have been on easy terms in spite of the Governor's trusteeship of the Colleton Settlement. The Colleton's were offended by his irregular liaison with their orphaned niece. Walker Colleton was about twenty. Her young brother Peter and three sisters, including Elizabeth, then thirteen, had been living without parental influence since the death of their widowed mother in 1692. Their only close relative who might have given them a home during the absence of James Colleton in South Carolina, was their uncle, Walker's executor, John Mead. The Mead Plantation was mid-way between the neighbouring Colleton and Kendall Plantations, about 1 1/4 miles equidistant. Walker became the bachelor Governor's housekeeper, a role later attributed to her in England.⁹⁸ The Governor took advantage of his special position as trustee and fathered her child James.⁹⁹ Within the next twelve months they sailed for London.

⁹⁷A revised version of the recalled Barbados Election Act of 1692 was used as the pattern for the revised South Carolina Act of Establishment of 1706. This followed rejection by the House of Lords of Johnson's 1703 legislation on Joseph Boone's successful appeal. See below page 232

⁹⁸*Westminster Abbey Register*, p. 264.

⁹⁹Perhaps from a feeling of remorse at her condition and its likely effect on her prospects, John Mead gave her an annuity from his plantation in March 1692 for 100 years "so long as she remains unmarried ... for love and affection of my niece ..."

Sir Peter himself had no further opportunities for intervention in either Barbados or Carolina affairs and died in April 1694.¹⁰⁰ James Colleton's return from Carolina was in time for the re-called elections. He and John Leslie were returned as the two representatives for St John's and at the first session of the Assembly on 11 September 1694, under the new Governor Francis Russell, Colleton was appointed Speaker. Before he had received his Carolina commission James and his brothers had signed a document on 26 March, 1686 "Now therefore for the prevention of controversy" In retrospect this was an ironic introductory phrase for a new agreement between the surviving brothers to finance the capital costs of "all servants, slaves, cattle, coppers" and other purchases.¹⁰¹ As the brothers were parties to "an estate in common", they did not inherit subdivisions of land but their share of the income from it, described in the text as "divided in right". Arrangements had to be agreed for the financing of purchases on behalf of the joint estate now that Sir Peter's twenty-one years of income control under the terms of his father's Deed of Settlement would shortly end.¹⁰² James' prospective move to Carolina would have been the reason and the date also gives some supporting evidence for the logical theory that James had accepted nomination as Governor of South Carolina before March 1686.¹⁰³ Signatures on the agreement would have taken some months to obtain. The dutiful Thomas was to be left in Barbados to run the St John's Plantation as he had since 1691. He felt unable to continue his Carolina and Barbados

RB. 3/19. 515. At the time of Walker Colleton's residence with Kendall in England she adopted his surname. She was recognised as his heir and in 1708 inherited his entire estate of £40,000 which she left in turn to their illegitimate son James. *Westminster Abbey Register*, p. 264.

¹⁰⁰He was buried in the newly completed St James', Piccadilly. His principal bequest of land in Devonshire, Barbados and Carolina was to his legitimate son John, who was still a minor. He was also survived by a natural son Charles, two daughters and a step-daughter.

His will is summarised by H. F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, 2 vols, (Illinois: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1901: reprinted 1983), II, pp. 716, 717, but see Appendix H to this thesis for a transcript.

¹⁰¹26 March 1686, R.B. 3 16.312.

¹⁰²HHA D/4.

¹⁰³See above pages 184-6.

responsibilities for long. James would have been aware of Thomas's intention to return shortly to England, recorded in his will four years later,

I Thomas Colleton of the parish of St John's in the island of Barbadoes Esquire, being at this present time *indisposed* in health of body, but of sound and disposing mind and memory, and *designing to depart this island...*

James' legal training prompted him to secure his future right to the disposal of profit from the estates for "common" capital expenditure and Sir Peter had agreed to sign the document. James arranged affairs to suit his own circumstances from the moment his brothers died. In future he would be in a position to use capital investment in the common interest to limit the inheritance of Sir Peter's heir who was due to receive half of the disposable profit. The annual amount left for distribution should have been clear from the accounts James was obliged to furnish yearly after Sir Peter's death in 1694 but he failed to do so. He and his nephew, Thomas's son Peter, were later charged by Sir Peter's executors with denying Sir John II his inheritance.¹⁰⁴

James had some defence for his retention of revenue on the basis of greatly increased costs. By 1685 the price of the main varieties of sugar had fallen by an average of 70% on the London market. Gross receipts before plantation expenses were half of the selling price. In 1685 James II added heavy new duties, including 25% on white refined sugar. Due to the Navigation Acts, the planters were unable to find alternative markets or purchase imports abroad. There were even fears of general bankruptcy.¹⁰⁵ The economic position of the island and the repressive measures of the unpopular Governor Dutton may have been reasons for James Colleton to seek a post in Carolina. To add to an unhappy picture, Barbados was afflicted by "contagious bellyache" and impoverished by short

¹⁰⁴*Acts of Privy Council (Colonial)*, 1680-1720, Vol. II, p. 344.

¹⁰⁵Three hundred years later, May 1988, due to high labour costs and the unpleasant work of cane cutting, the crop was standing in the plantations and the central factory empty. Alternative products and sources of labour were being sought urgently by planters and government, an unfortunate and long deferred outcome of economic difficulties. See *Barbados*, pp. 259-260.

crops.¹⁰⁶ An appeal by the Barbados Agents of July 1693 to the Lords of Trade for regular troops to defend the island against the French threat included an illuminating report of conditions and another reason for depleted profits:

Our sugar works are dropping down: not one man in twenty can repair them, so that the whole island is in poverty and misery. We strained ourselves to the utmost to send 1,003 men to the late (Wheler) expedition, (against the Antilles) and the number returned is much short of that which went, so that we are weaker than ever, unless helped from England ... we have not 30,000 acres that can pay taxes (out of 100,000) ...¹⁰⁷

The fortunes of the Barbadoes plantations were in decline at the very moment economic prospects were improving in South Carolina. The need for the continued stability of its government moved the Proprietors to accept Governor Smith's suggestion that Archdale should be sent as the first appointed Proprietor Governor of the province. The credibility of Proprietary authority required Archdale's success. His two years were marked by a healthy agricultural economy, expanding Indian trade and a responsible, less partisan, Assembly. In the aftermath of the James Colleton coup d'état, the redress of measures taken against him and his supporters continued. As further evidence of their view that he had been ill-used, once they had been given the facts, the Proprietors advised him on 27 October 1694 of Archdale's appointment, the payment of his own overdue salary and a token sum of £20 to be deducted for the arrears he owed on the quitrent for his barony "in consideration of your sufferings".¹⁰⁸

Archdale proved the success of his choice as Proprietor Governor. The colony enjoyed the first period of stable government and legislation in the twenty-five years since settlement. He introduced Land Grant reforms

¹⁰⁶CSPC, 1685-88, Nos. 294, 871.

¹⁰⁷CSPC, 1693-96, No. 451.

¹⁰⁸CSPC, 1693-96, No. 1481.

in the Province and obtained concessions from the Assembly in return.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, long overdue payments started to accrue to the Proprietors funds.¹¹⁰ Having appointed Joseph Blake his deputy governor Archdale nominated him as his successor and arranged the sale to Blake of his own son's proprietorship as soon as the young Archdale came of age. Blake's clique of Dissenters maintained harmony in the province. A final attempt by the Proprietary to secure recognition of the Fundamental Constitutions failed, rejected by the Assembly because it included an upper house of nobles. The efforts to obtain willing agreement to the constitution had continued for nearly thirty years without success. The rejection was the final indication that the basis for Proprietary authority would never be admitted. Their rules for the grant of land were reluctantly accepted but their right to a final say in the constitutional form of government had been eroded until it ceased to be credible. A new Navigation Act passed by the home government in 1696 introduced the unwelcome intervention into Carolina of customs regulations and the right to appoint collectors. Maritime jurisdiction was made responsible to the High Court of Admiralty in England.¹¹¹ Much more cogently, the appointment of proprietary governors required royal approval.¹¹² The Crown recognised from experience that Proprietary governors could seriously damage the ultimate link between the Proprietaries and the Mother Country.

Joseph Blake, a formidable opportunist and Indian trader, founded the properties which were later to rival the Colleton's in size. The age differential gave Blake the advantage of an authoritative presence in Carolina, while the head of the Colleton family was still a minor. Sir John II's brother Charles was the senior Colleton representative in Carolina while their uncle James was establishing a leading presence in Barbados.

¹⁰⁹The Proprietary allowed the continuance of the old rule of a seven year rent holiday from the first cultivation of new land. See 1704 receipt for payments by James Colleton at Appendix J.

¹¹⁰See Appendix K, James Colleton's rent reduction and receipt for overdue payments from the Proprietary.

¹¹¹CSPC, 1696-97, No. 774.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, No. 1040.

The position of dominance which the Colletons had enjoyed in Barbadian and Proprietary affairs through the authority and experience of Sir Peter was at an end. The re-establishment of a family presence in Carolina came a generation later when the opportunity for leadership in the colony had been lost. Future Colletons and their relations served her interests in a less commanding way. It could be claimed that the decline of Proprietary interest in South Carolina began immediately after Sir Peter's death. His experience and ability had done much to sustain it. Within a few years the feasibility of proprietaries meeting the costs of defence, both provincial and in the Crown interest, was to be questioned by the Lords of Trade.¹¹³

¹¹³CSPC, 1706-08, No. 18.

CHAPTER 8

New Economic Strength and Religious Discord in South Carolina

By the end of the seventeenth century the economy of South Carolina had started to show significant growth from naval stores, Indian trade and the first development of staple crops, especially rice; consequently slave imports increased. Religious intolerance exemplified by the Exclusion and Establishment Acts resulted in the Dissenters sending the first Carolina agents to England, John Ash in 1703 and Joseph Boone in 1705. Sensitivity over the southern frontiers caused by the French and Spanish Wars gave an excuse for punitive raids against their supporting Indian tribes. The first years of the new eighteenth century confirmed the establishment of a successful economy. In Barbados the first public conflict occurred within the Colleton family, a legal challenge to the administration by James Colleton of the income from their sugar interests.

The Palatine of Carolina, Lord Craven, died in 1697 at the age of ninety-one. He was succeeded by the Earl of Bath who purchased his proprietary interest from the transvestite 2nd Duke of Albemarle in 1694. Craven had held the principal office for nineteen years from the age of seventy. Although an experienced and influential courtier, he could not serve the interests of Carolina as vigorously as a younger man but he gained the reputation of having saved the Proprietary. He had been given the constant support of Peter Colleton in the thirteen years after the final committal of the energetic Lord Shaftesbury. Craven had been the only original Proprietor to survive Shaftesbury. Sir Peter had died three years earlier after thirty years service to the Proprietary and since Shaftesbury's departure had borne most of the responsibility for Carolina and a special supervisory role for Barbadian affairs on behalf of the crown authorities.¹ His death was a severe blow to the Proprietary: the government, and especially his family, lost an experienced counsellor.

¹ CSPC, 1693-96, No. 1913, *Ibid.*, 1696-97, No. 330.

The young Barbadian children of Sir Peter's brother Thomas lacked a stabilising adult influence. They were fortunate that thirty-two year old Major Thomas Garth was posted from England. He was a regular officer of the Fourth Troop of Foot Guards, owner of Harold in the County of Bedford and was sent to Barbados in mid-1695 in command of 260 reinforcements, the second half of Russell's Regiment.² The first half had recently been sent to supplement local militia forces.³ The regiment was due for service in the Leeward Islands to counter the anticipated build-up of French troops. Shortly after arrival he married twenty year-old Elizabeth Colleton. Both of her parents had been dead for several years, leaving in her care two young sisters and a brother, Peter. Her sister Walker had left the island with Governor James Kendall in 1694. Thomas Garth was the younger brother of the celebrated and influential Samuel Garth, Whig, physician, poet, friend of Dryden and member of the Kit-Cat Club.⁴ This fortuitous alliance was to be the first and pivotal link between the Colletons, Garths and Boones. It was to form the basis of their influence in South Carolina and their combined political cohesion in England as Whig Members of Parliament during the eighteenth century.⁵

While the fortunes of the Colletons in Barbados may have improved, their lack of an experienced representative on the Carolina Proprietary

²Garth also owned estates at Graffham and Great Staughton in Huntingdonshire. J.E. Buchanan, *Haines Hill* (Unpublished, 1965), p.14.

³CSPC, 1696-97, No. 330

⁴Samuel became Physician-in-Ordinary to the King and Physician-General to the Army. *DNB*, Vol. VII, p. 910.

Thomas was born at Bolam Forest, West Riding. His ancestor, Thomas Garth of Headlam, was made Marshal of Berwick-on-Tweed by Henry VII in 1499 following James IV's attack on Norham in 1497. Table 1; D. MacPherson, ed., *Rotuli Scotiae*, 2 vols (Westminster: House of Commons, 1819), II, pp. 542b, 545a,b. (Translated from Latin for the author by John Goodall M.A., previously Master of Classics at Kelso High School.)

Thomas was the grandfather of Charles Garth M.P., Agent for South Carolina 1762-75 and Thomas Boone, Governor of South Carolina 1761-1764. See Table 6.

⁵This family group resulted partly from the second marriage of Thomas and Elizabeth Garth's daughter to ex-Governor Charles Boone of Bombay, brother of Joseph Boone of South Carolina and father of Governor Thomas Boone of South Carolina.

resulted in the decline of corporate direction from which it never recovered. Changes in proprietary leadership, membership and policy came at an unfortunate time, coinciding with political and religious intolerance by the Administration in South Carolina's internal affairs. Externally, the settlers recognised French expansionist policies and their influence over the Indians as a major threat to the province. The most warlike tribes lived to the south west in the direction of potential European infiltration, sustained by enemies of England. The economic scene was more promising. South Carolina's first favourable trade balance had been derived from naval stores and the increasing volume of staple products from the low country; but now

The cultivation of rice laid the foundation for South Carolinas enormous wealth in the mid-eighteenth century ... and stimulated its rapid conversion to an almost wholly African slave labour force in the manner of the sugar colonies. Already by 1710 ... there were more blacks than whites.⁶

The prime source of income was still Indian trade which the Proprietors had sought to monopolise and control on humanitarian principles.

The religious scene was threatening and unstable. The Dissenter Governor Blake died in 1700 and was succeeded on a temporary basis by the President of the Council James Moore, a high Anglican like Lord Grenville, elected Palatine in 1702. A resurgence of the Goose Creek Anglicans quickly followed Moore's appointment in opposition to the Dissenters who represented nearly half the white population and formed the largest single religious group. Their growth proved the effectiveness of Proprietary emigration policy, in shifting the balance of power from the anti-Proprietary party; a policy endorsed enthusiastically by Peter Colleton and evidenced by his earlier sponsorship of the Cardross expedition. The even balance between the Proprietary party and the anti-Proprietary parties, Anglican and supporters against Dissenters, meant that an Anglican majority in the Carolina Parliament could only be assured by

⁶Jack P. Greene, *The Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 51.

disenfranchising the Dissenter vote. To achieve this result the Carolina Anglicans required the support of the Proprietary in a contravention of the guarantee of religious freedom, the most significant clause of the 1665 Charter.

The Indian traders reverted to swindling and debauching their source of wealth.⁷ James Moore took over their leadership with James Broughton, who shortly built Mulberry Castle on young Sir John Colleton II's land adjoining Fairlawn, conveniently situated for Indian trade and communications with the interior. The Dissenters and reforming Anglicans who lived in Colleton County, to the exposed south west of the province, were concerned that they would bear the weight of inevitable Indian reprisals. Their interest was altruistic, to reform the trade and convert the tribesmen to Christianity. The old Proprietary party in the province had now been mostly replaced by the first generation of native-born Carolinians and a new generation of proprietors was taking office at home.⁸ Sir John Colleton II reached his majority in 1700.⁹ He attended his first meeting of the Carolina Proprietary as a third generation member on 10 January 1702. It was also the first meeting as Palatine of John Grenville, another third generation proprietor.¹⁰ With a majority of Anglicans he zealously pursued the establishment of the Church of England in Carolina and was largely responsible for a return to religion-based political conflicts. The Anglican leadership in the province fell to two recent immigrants, lawyer Nicholas Trott, Attorney-General and ex-

⁷CSC, pp. 76-77.

⁸Table 6, page 177 above shows a small sample.

⁹Sir John II was living at Stratford Langthorne, in Essex, before 1717. (HHA, unreferenced Indentures of 15 and 16 April 1717) From 1726 his son John, born in 1701, and brother Peter, were the first members of the Colleton family to become resident permanently in South Carolina.

¹⁰Grenville is a good example of the hereditary pattern of proprietorship. He was a brother-in-law of Proprietor Lord Carteret, grandson of first generation Proprietor Sir George Carteret, son of Palatine the Earl of Bath and first cousin of the Governor of Barbados, Sir Beville Granville. However, Grenville, Craven, Colleton and Ashley were the only Proprietors to survive three Proprietary generations by descent. The Proprietary did not survive long enough for a fourth. The Colleton's retained an inherited interest longest. See *DNB*.

naval officer, and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, ex-Member of Parliament, soldier and recent Governor of the Leeward Islands. The Dissenters' leaders were John Ash and the son of ex-Governor Landgrave Thomas Smith. Ash became the first Dissenter agent to England to lead the fight against Anglican establishment. The leader of the reforming Anglicans, Thomas Nairne, lived in the south west of the Province. His following included John Barnwell and William Bull, both pre-eminent in the development of a future Indian policy.¹¹ Moore had more interest in nepotism and the accumulation of wealth than founding an established church. With the likelihood of a continental war against France and Spain he saw the opportunity in 1702 of removing their influence from the Gulf and the southern frontier. After the declaration of war by England a majority in the Assembly voted for an expedition against Florida, overruling the objections of John Ash. Moore besieged St Augustine with inadequate forces but gained some frontier territory. Following Dissenter objections to Moore's campaign debts, rioters attacked, "beat and abused" John Ash and Joseph Boone.¹²

The Proprietors commissioned Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the old enemy of Sir Peter and James Colleton, as Governor. In March 1703 he supported Moore in a crushing war against the Apalache Indians but his principal interests were ecclesiastical. In Spring 1703 he had obtained by deceit a majority of one in the Assembly and passed an Exclusion Act which disqualified Dissenters.¹³ Assembly members were required to be communicants in the Church of England or Anglican conformists. The first act was followed by an Act of Establishment. There was a direct parallel in the Toleration Act of England after the accession of William and Mary, except that the English law was less restrictive. An almost identical situation also occurred in Barbados under Governor Kendall's administration. His Act of 1692 also regulated elections to the Assembly.

¹¹John Barnwell was a grandfather of Governor Thomas Boone's wife Sarah Perroneau, nee Tattnall. CSC, p. 81.

¹²Daniel Defoe, "Party Tyranny", *Early Carolina*, p. 34.

¹³Johnson called an emergency meeting which passed the Exclusion Act before some of the Dissenters could reach Charleston. CSC, p.87.

After objection by Sir Peter Colleton the bill had been disallowed by the Crown. The essential difference between England, Barbados and Carolina was the degree of religious freedom enjoyed in the two colonies. In Carolina it was specifically guaranteed by their charter. In the absence of a universally approved constitution, past assurances and the wording of the charter had been instrumental in encouraging large numbers of European Dissenters to emigrate. The 38th and 39th Articles of the 1698 Fundamental Constitutions, rejected by the Carolina Assembly, gave the same guarantees of religious freedom. In 1703 John Ash was deputed to represent the case of the Dissenters to the Proprietors. Ash died after arriving in London and was replaced in 1705 by Joseph Boone.

The situation which had developed underlined the serious consequence of a new regime of proprietors. The tolerance Sir Peter's generation of largely Anglican colleagues, demonstrated by their sponsorship of minority dissenting groups, would not have allowed religious bias or an infringement of the charter by the Palatine Court. Sir Peter's aid towards Dissenter emigration and his action in calling for the revocation of the Barbados Election Act, which required franchised representatives to be communicants, is enough evidence of his opposition to religious dogmatism. His accomodating emigration policy had been partly driven by a recognition of the political benefits of equilibrium between conformists and non-conformists. This first challenge in the English parliament to the mainly aristocratic Palatine Court was a precedent of significance. It gave encouragement to future supporters of resistance in the province that justice might be available by direct reference over the head of a Governor.

While Boone prepared the Dissenters case against the Proprietary, one of their number, Sir John Colleton II, had another concern, the recovery of his allocation of profits from the Barbados plantations now in the agency of his uncle James. In December 1697 Kathleen Richardson, daughter of Sir Peter and sister of eighteen year-old Sir John, petitioned the Council of Trade and Plantations in his interest. She had the support of co-Trustee William Thornburgh, proxy Proprietor for Sir John during his minority. James Colleton had kept possession of the Colleton estates and had made no distribution of profits since Sir Peter's death three years

previously. As Judge of St John's precinct, he had ignored their protest and the executors could obtain no redress in law. They sought his disqualification by the newly-appointed Governor, Ralph Grey, to allow a disinterested judge to hear the case.¹⁴ Their original petition of 1 December 1697 to the Council of Trade alleged that James "hath ever since his said brother's death kept possession of his estate... and converts it to his own proper use". James had lately been made Judge of St John's "by the present government of Barbados ... insomuch that your petition can have no redress in law".¹⁵ The Trustees obtained an order for an alternative judge, but no progress was made. They appealed again to the Council of Trade on 15 August 1699,

Sir Peter having in his lifetime (since James' return from Carolina) employed his brother Colonel James Colleton to manage the said plantations as his Agent and remitt the efforts thereof to him in England ... as soon as he heard of his said brother's (Peter's) death detained the goods of the said plantation to his own use and hath remitted no part to the said Executors ... and to avoid the determining of that suit the said James Colleton obtained the favour of being made Judge of the Court where the case was to be tryed hath now (retained) the whole (produce) thereof for the above 5 years without rendering any account thereof.¹⁶

While James' defence for retaining the half share due to his nephew John does not become clear until later, it is known that the profitability of sugar had reached a low point.¹⁷ The estate suffered severely in the 1694 hurricane.¹⁸ An agreement reached between the brothers in March 1686 had given James wide scope to charge capital costs in proportion to the

¹⁴CSPC, 1697-98, No.81.

¹⁵PRO, CO .28/3, f. 140(old referencing)

¹⁶For Sir John Colleton's complaint about James being summoned to appear before himself as defendant and judge in his own case see PRO, CO 28/14, f. 52 and CSPC, 1699, No. 716.

¹⁷*Barbados*, pp. 259-260.

¹⁸Twenty-six ships sank in Barbados waters in the September hurricane, the worst for twenty-five years. *English Atlantic*, p. 25.

individual interests of the beneficiaries.¹⁹ It is quite possible that the cost of running the plantations equalled or exceeded the revenue. However, if this was the whole truth of the matter there would have been no reason for James to resort to such lengths to retain jurisdiction over the hearings. Having had no satisfaction, the executors made a further appeal to the Council of Trade on 15 August 1699.²⁰ The Lords Justices in Council ruled a month later that an impartial judge should hear the case. Meanwhile, Major Thomas Garth, husband of James Colleton's niece Elizabeth and brother-in-law of Peter Colleton, had become one of Peter's executors.²¹ He signed a note to the Governor of Barbados on 10 May 1700 absolving James for the delay which was described as being due to the death of the Governor and changes in judicial appointments.

In 1700 James was again elected Speaker of the Assembly of Barbados and in 1701 was appointed Chief Justice and Chairman of Grand Sessions. Apart from the Governorship itself he had quickly reached the highest posts available to him in the administration earning the recommendation he was to receive from the Governor of Barbados, Sir Bevill Granville, in 1704.²² He could hardly have justified his credentials for his earlier selection as Governor of South Carolina in a more effective way. Again, his new accomplishments pose the question as to the balance and credibility of the case against him in Carolina even though his conduct in personal matters was often irrational. In 1702 James became Colonel of the militia regiment of Foot, a mark of approbation and honour within any colonial hierarchy. No resolution of the lawsuit had been reached and it is clear that James intended none should, unless it was to be in his favour. He went to extraordinary lengths to obstruct a fair hearing. The

¹⁹Estates 'in common' devolved upon the surviving partner but the Colleton Plantations were also 'divided in right' in accordance with Sir John I's Deed of Settlement, HHA D/4. See also Appendix A, entry 16.312.

²⁰CSPC, 1699, No. 716.

²¹CSPC, 1700, No. 423, describes him as executor to Sir Peter, probably in error for Peter, son of Thomas, who was his brother-in-law and a party to the inheritance dispute.

²²See page 222.

case must be an unusual example of the persistent obstruction of impartial justice by a judge who was also the defendant.²³ The circumstances lead to the conclusion that for some undisclosed reason James Colleton doubted if he could win his case at a fair trial. Sir John's complaint was that since his father's death his uncle James and his cousin Peter had detained over £1,000 per annum due to him. The Queen required the Governor to appoint a disinterested judge and "remove all delay".²⁴

Sir John alerted the Council of Trade in March 1704 to the news that his uncle was soliciting a seat on the Council of Barbados which would again entitle him to hear the referred case, this time on appeal. Nevertheless, James' nomination received the recommendation of the Governor.²⁵ Granville described James Colleton as

a person in the first rank in this island, that has for many years exercised the chief posts, of known integrity and considerable fortune.²⁶

Sir John was asked by the Council if he had any objection.²⁷ He replied in April 1705 that ever since the Queen's order James had prevented a hearing by unjust delay.²⁸ The Council reminded the Governor of the Queen's letter and instructed that Colleton should not sit as Judge "nor in Council upon any writ of error or appeal in this or any other case wherein he is in his private interest concerned".²⁹

James Colleton died in Barbados aged 57. He left his 18,000 acres and town lots in Carolina, including the plantations of Wadboo, Mepshoo

²³I have been unable to trace a case history or an analysis.

²⁴CSPC, 1704-05, No. 180

²⁵*Ibid.*, No. 348

²⁶*Ibid.*, 568.

²⁷*Ibid.*, No. 985.

²⁸CSPC, 1704-05, No. 1003.

²⁹*Ibid.*, No. 1029.

and Mepkin, to his son and heir John, who was now twenty-three.³⁰ There is no record as to whether James' wife survived him or, tantalisingly in view of the many inaccurate references to her as the daughter of Governor James Kendall, what her lineage really was. The Colleton representation in Barbados was rapidly diminishing. Sir Peter's descendants were then all in England; two of Thomas' daughters had left the island, Walker circuitously to London with James Kendall after 1694. Elizabeth departed with her husband Major Thomas Garth and their first children about 1702. Garth was soon involved in the Marlborough Wars as the Commanding Officer of his regiment. Of the men, only Thomas' son Peter, who was to die in 1717, and James' son John, were left in Barbados. John was to return to England with his two sons and a daughter in 1723. The inheritance dispute was to be resolved in 1717, the year of Peter's death which left John as the only defendant, but the litigation still had many years to run.³¹ After James' death his son John also sought membership of the Council and was similarly barred from sittings until the controversy was settled.

The sources of James Colleton's biography provide contradictions. His opponents, both contemporary and recent, have been ready to point out faults and their views are well-documented. His own case has never been deployed. There may have been some justification in the specific instances which look most telling against him, the killing of a night-watchman in Bridgetown, the allegation of lack of judgment as Governor in declaring martial law and his conduct during the retention of his nephew's inheritance in Barbados. There is no evidence to support an allegation that he intended, out of avarice, to trade in slaves with the Spanish on his arrival in Carolina. If this had been his intention, slave

³⁰John matriculated at Trinity Oxford in 1700, aged 17, and attended the Middle Temple in 1703. J. Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis, 1500-1714*, 4 vols.(Oxford: Parker & Co., 1887-8) I, p. 304.

³¹Peter, son of Thomas. An indenture was drawn up for Sir John to dispose of his right to James' son on 5 March 1705, but never put into effect. This may have been due to James' death in 1706 or a change of heart by one of the parties to the dispute. Except for the assignee's name the accepted 1717 version is similar. HHA, (unreferenced, but with D/4).

dealing with the Spanish had official approval in the Navigation Acts. There is no evidence other than hearsay from a discredited slaver, Mathews, to support the accusation that he intended to corner the Indian trade for himself. Each accusation reports the complainant's view, his own has not been heard. No unofficial private letters have survived, even among archive material brought to England in 1723 by his son. After the crisis the Proprietors expressed their sympathy and pity for the way in which he had been treated by the anti-Proprietary party, arranged compensation for his sufferings, restored his legislation and the offices of his colleagues. One report which might have been of some help in reaching a judgment, Governor Philip Ludwell's investigation into his Governorship commissioned by the Proprietary, has never been traced and may not have been written. Governor Sir Bevill Granville gave James a recommendation in his later years.³² He described him as "of known integrity", a personal view which could have more validity in arriving at a balance than a partly contrived case against his Governorship. He played a leading role in establishing a successful plantation economy and this may have been his one great contribution to Carolina.

The character of James Colleton will remain an enigma. It is certain that contemporary accounts of the anti-Proprietary party were heavily biased against him in order to enhance their well-rehearsed stance and especially *as a means of attacking the personification of Proprietary authority*. Time has added to the number of his detractors but not the evidence against him. Nevertheless, sympathy for his unenviable and isolated position during Governorship, at odds with his Barbadian compatriots and often the Proprietary, of which his brother was the leading member, does not diminish an impression of uncompromising tenacity, inflexibility, thrift and competitive self-interest. The objections to his type of unyielding Governorship, intended to secure compliance

³²There is some evidence that Sir Bevill may have "packed" the Council with his friends in order to pass legislation. Granville and Colleton may have been "in cahoots". There was an unsuccessful attempt to unseat Colleton on the same grounds that had temporarily disqualified his brother Thomas in 1675, the lack of territorial qualification. See CSPC, 1704-5, No. 923 (III).

with the Proprietors terms and the Fundamental Constitutions, prompted some part of the case against Proprietary rule and the first formal recommendation in England in 1706 for the assumption of royal authority.³³

³³CSPC, 1706-08, Nos. 18, 88, 120, 121.

PART 4

The End of Proprietary Rule (1705-1721)

Chapter 9 The Agency of Joseph Boone

CHAPTER 9

The Agency of Joseph Boone

Joseph Boone was the son of London merchant, Thomas Boone of St Andrew Undershaft and member of a family staunch in the Dissenter tradition.¹ Joseph had powerful connections, including the Evelyns, one Boone relation being tutor to John Evelyn's son. Evelyn was a frequent visitor to the Boone household but his family connection with Palatine Grenville was unavailing. Joseph's particular strength was his commercial link with the City of London merchants and, perhaps of less significance, his family's East India Company connection with the same traders. His brother Thomas had inherited Lee Place, Kent, from one of the original East India charter commissioners, Christopher Boone; his brother Charles was shortly to become Governor of Bombay and a Director of the East India Company.² He was a cousin of the South Carolina Indian trader and opponent of the Proprietary, Major John Boone, whom he joined in the colony in 1694, at the age of seventeen. Joseph was the only Dissenter Republican in the Colleton family group and was not their blood relation. He is given a place in the thesis as the childless uncle and benefactor of Governor Thomas Boone and the brother-in-law of Elizabeth Garth, granddaughter of Landgrave Thomas Colleton.³

Boone's representations and lobbying were largely responsible for preventing the Anglican exclusion of Carolina Dissenters from government. The majority party had passed Establishment and Exclusion Acts in an excess of Anglican zeal and intolerance, supported by the

¹Thomas Boone, of Mount Boone in Devon, was an antecedent. Appointed a judge at Charles I's trial, he avoided a regicides fate by not attending it. *HP: HC*, 1660-90, Vol. I, see under Boone, Charles.

²Not a director of the Bank of England as recorded by Namier. "Charles Garth", pp. 458-9, letter to the author of 22 October 1986 from the Curator, Museum and Historical Research Department, Bank of England, Threadneedle Street, London.

³She married Joseph's brother ex-Governor Charles Boone in 1727 after the death of her first husband, George Evelyn M.P. She was the aunt of Charles Garth. See Tables 1, 6.

Proprietary but contrary to the charter. He alerted the English government to the effects and realities of Indian attacks. He gave warning of the strategic implications of hostile European incursions which could turn the flanks of the American colonies. At the end of his agency he received the thanks of the rebel governor for achieving the appointment of a royal successor. This ended Carolina's Proprietary régime which, ironically, had been established largely by the Colleton ancestor of Joseph's unborn heirs.⁴ Another irony was that his advocacy helped to achieve an outcome long desired by the largely Anglican anti-Proprietary party, now joined by second generation descendants of the Barbadian Goose Creek faction. The Dissenters had been favoured with special treatment by Sir Peter Colleton to achieve a non-conformist counterbalance to the opposition of the Barbadians and their allies. Boone completed the work of the anti-Proprietary party.

Joseph settled on the Edisto River in an area dominated by other non-conformists, about half-way between Charleston and Port Royal.⁵ He first obtained 200 acres in Berkeley County, granted in 1696. His largest early acquisition was 1,170 acres of Dissenter country, on the St Helena River north of Beaufort, which he bought in 1702.⁶ Joseph married another descendant of a Dissenter regicide, widow Anne Alexander, daughter of Landgrave Daniel Axtell and granddaughter of the executed Colonel David Axtell, gaoler of Charles I during his trial.⁷ Joseph was given a dowry of Axtell property by his mother-in-law, Rebecca Axtell, which he

⁴Charles and Governor Thomas Boone.

⁵The Edisto River was first named Colleton by the Proprietors or, more colloquially, Pon Pon. It formed the boundary between Berkeley and Colleton Counties.

⁶In 1714 he added a further 1,168 acres in Colleton County and a Town Lot in Charleston. The property became known as Boone's Barony as distinct from Boone Hall, which lies east of the Cooper river (North East of Mount Pleasant) and belonged to his cousin Major John Boone, who died in 1711.

⁷Joseph's sister-in-law Elizabeth Axtell married the nephew of Cromwell's Admiral, Robert Blake.

renamed Mount Boone after the estate of his Devonshire antecedents.⁸ Like James Colleton he concentrated on rice cultivation and developed three plantations within the Barony. Despite his inevitable lack of political experience he was to play an accomplished role for the Dissenters in England after the death of John Ash. He became the second agent in England for the South Carolina Assembly after Kettelby.

Correctly, Boone first represented his case for repeal of the Establishment and Exclusion Acts to the Lords Proprietors but it took him seven weeks to prevail on the Palatine to hold a meeting. He made more progress than Ash but, nevertheless, the Proprietors ratified both Acts. They were all Anglicans except the child Joseph Blake, living with his mother in Carolina, and Quaker John Archdale, the ex-Governor recently returned to England. Archdale and Ashley, Shaftesbury's grandson, voted against the Acts but Grenville achieved a 6 to 2 majority by casting his own and two proxy votes in favour, one of them Blake's. The young Colleton was persuaded to follow suit. The alignment of religious feeling caused by Queen Anne's and Grenville's anti-Dissenter views became a new obstacle to non-conformist relationships with Carolina but a challenge to Boone. He had no intention of conforming. His Dissenter associations enabled him to enlist several pamphleteers including Daniel Defoe who provided a colourful exposition in 1705 to bring the case before the English public.⁹ Through the family trading links he obtained support for a petition to the House of Lords from the London merchants, many of them old associates of his father. He pled contravention of the 1665 Charter, the Fundamental Constitutions and interference with the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London who had supervision of the Anglican denomination in the colonies.

⁸Joseph Boone's own purchases of land, which he amalgamated to over 2,500 acres, became part of Boone's Barony. The barony was founded on a 1682 grant to John and Anne Smith, bought by Joseph. PRO AO 13/125, ff. 8-14, 141-2.

⁹Daniel Defoe, "Part Tyranny", *Early Carolina*, pp. 219-264, especially pp. 248-250.

The House of Lords heard Joseph Boone's petition on 28 February 1706. He proved to be an adroit and skilful suppliant.¹⁰ Recourse to the merchant fraternity when official channels were unpromising had been a typical and successful Barbadian tactic. Boone had the backing of a Dissenter threat to start a mass exodus from Carolina if they were excluded from participation. They saw the ratification of the Acts by the Proprietary as a breach of faith. On 9 March the Lords resolved that the Acts were repugnant to the laws of England "tending to the depopulation and ruin of the province".¹¹ In the view of the Attorney General, the Solicitor General and the Board of Trade, the abuse of power by the Proprietary had forfeited the founding charter. A move to annul it was dropped as a possible infringement of the privilege of peers serving on the Proprietary and it could be said that only half their number had been in favour of the legislation.¹² The Privy Council disallowed both acts and the Anglicans in Carolina were given no encouragement by their English colleagues. Boone had secured a diplomatic triumph.

One of his doctrinaire Anglican opponents was the Rev. Samuel Thomas, the first missionary sent to South Carolina in 1702 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He returned to his parish of Cooper River and Goose Creek in April 1706, after a visit to England. He may have undertaken the journey to oppose Boone but his return to Carolina was made before the 10 June ruling of the Privy Council. Samuel Thomas had, for company, two Dissenter ministers and a schoolmaster despatched to Carolina by Joseph.

He wrote from Portsmouth to the Secretary of the Society in London. As a prominent member of the Anglican church in the province Thomas was a strong supporter of the defeated cause. He believed that Boone had been deceitful in his representation. Boone had stressed that the

¹⁰Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1970), p. 156.

¹¹Ella Lonn, *Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies*, (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1945), p.44.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 45.

Establishment Act had been passed by the Carolina Anglicans without consulting the Bishop of London, their spiritual superior in England. English Anglican leaders concurred and accepted revocation of the Acts. Boone had used a politically astute negotiating tactic but was hardly insincere as Thomas alleged.

This day arrived from London two dissenting Ministers which Mr Boon (the gentleman which petitioned the House of Lords) sent, and we have on board a young man which he sends over also for a schoolmaster, who is a Scotch Presbyterian, by which I suppose a judgement may be made on Mr Boon's sincerity when he pretends to be an Advocate for the Church of England in Carolina. I should rejoyce as much as any man to see religion and the power of goodness flourish under any Christian Minister's conduct of what Denomination so ever, so they be sound in the Fundamentals, but I have abundant reason to fear that Mr Boon and those few gentlemen in Carolina who employ him have a design of advancing of their particular Party by the ruins of the interest of the Church of England in that Province, and I must say that I fear, and I believe that fear is not groundless, that the encouragement which the lords has now given him will tend much more to the discouragement of your Missionarys.... I have, and I hope I ever shall treat pious Dissenters with due respect and tenderness, but I can't but discern that some among them as well as too many among ourselves are hot and violent and so wedded to a Party that they would be glad to raise it upon the ruins of those whom it does not affect, and of this sort without the least breach of Charity, I may by lone experience be truly able to say are some few in Carolina, those very persons who employ Mr Boon. Oh that God may heal our bleeding division and give us the spirit of holiness, peace & unity that true religion and the fear of God may abound in our Plantations...¹³

Samuel Thomas died within six months of his return to Carolina and was succeeded by the Rev. Francis Le Jau, the first Minister of the new church of St James at Goose Creek.¹⁴ A new election, narrowly won by the Anglicans, produced an even balance of power in the South Carolina Assembly. It did not hear the Privy Council ruling on the Acts until

¹³20 April 1706, "Letters of Rev. Samuel Thomas : 1702-1706", SCHGM, Vol. IV (1903), No. 4, pp. 284, 285.

¹⁴Le Jau wrote later that Thomas died at the end of November 1706 "ten days before my coming". F.J. Klingberg, ed., *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr Francis Le Jau, 1706-17*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), p. 16.

November 1706; possibly the news was brought by the returning Joseph Boone.

Fortunately for Boone and the Dissenters, the death of the High Anglican Palatine of Carolina, Lord Granville, removed the principal source of support for establishment. Boone and Quaker Archdale had pressed Granville's successor, the more benign William Craven, to dismiss Johnson from the governorship. On his return to Charleston, Boone ignored attempts by Johnson and the Assembly to make him justify his recent charges against them in the Lords. He claimed exemption from attendance as a proxy Proprietor, and deputed Councillor, and retired to his plantations.¹⁵ The other other Deputies refused to recognise Boone's credentials and the Assembly charged him with contempt, *in absentia*. The decision of the House of Lords temporarily encouraged the Dissenters to believe that their freedom of worship had been restored. Although the Assembly repealed their Acts a new Act of Establishment was passed at Johnson's suggestion which authorised payment of Anglican parsons from public funds but restored to the Dissenters their electoral franchise. Barbados precedent was fresh in the minds of emigrants and once again her example was copied. The new Act of 1706 was patterned on earlier Barbados legislation.¹⁶

From 1706 Governor Johnson was under constant Dissenter pressure for reform, especially for the regulation of the Indian trade and perks contributing to his income. His own son-in-law Thomas Broughton was involved in trading from Mulberry, a Cooper river plantation north of Charleston and not far from Indian territory.¹⁷ The Dissenters secured a

¹⁵Elizabeth, young Blake's mother, was an Axtell and sister to Mrs Boone. She appointed Joseph Boone, Deputy to her infant son Joseph, a Lord Proprietor which also entitled him to a seat on the Governor's Council. See Table 5.

¹⁶Klingberg, ed., *Chronicle of Le Jau*, p. 2 and pages 207-8 above. An example of legislative mimicry of Barbados is the adoption by South Carolina in 1696 of the 1688 Barbados Slave Code with little amendment. CSC, p. 65.

¹⁷Broughton became especially interested in the area of Mulberry on the southern edge of Fairlawn. The Barony had been granted to Sir Peter in 1679. A patent for the land was confirmed to his son Sir John II in 1708. Henry A.M. Smith says it was sold in 1708 to Broughton and the house built in 1714. A local story is that a relatively small part of the original grant became Broughton's by exchange

majority in the election of May 1707 and were able to insist on Indian trade regulation outside settled areas, with Thomas Nairne as agent and nine commissioners to issue licences. Nairne accused Broughton of enslaving friendly Cherokees and stealing deerskins. In retaliation Johnson charged Nairne with treason and imprisoned him. Control of the Assembly returned to the Anglicans in November 1708 elections, the revised Act of Establishment was implemented but the new arrangements for Indian trade regulation broke down. The Proprietors exonerated Nairne and finally decided they could no longer tolerate Johnson. The last and strongest opponent of James Colleton's administration, enemy of his brother Sir Peter, fell from grace as had almost all James' influential detractors. While not amounting to a vindication of his governorship, his most critical contemporaries proved no more durable in positions of responsibility than himself. In 1711 Nairne persuaded the Dissenters to abandon their resistance to the modified form of Church Establishment. The inter-denominational battles which had started with Goose Creek opposition to the first Dissenter emigrations were at an end at last; so were the constitutional impositions of the Proprietary.

During the next few years Parliament in England considered but did not implement two bills to end proprietary charters.¹⁸ New Jersey had surrendered its rights in 1702. The Indian Wars which followed may have convinced the Proprietors that their colony of Carolina was a liability; the settlers and merchants were already convinced that the Proprietors were. From 1712 the Proprietors showed a lack of interest in contributing to their charge. The days of Shaftesbury's "my darling Carolina" had gone, little respect was paid to Proprietary authority in the province and for several years Richard Shelton, their Secretary at Birchin Lane, determined Carolina policy. In this moribund condition Nicholas Trott,

after he had built the house on Colleton land without a survey to confirm his title. Francis Le Jau wrote on 5 September 1711, four years before the Yamasee Wars, of Broughton's "fine seat" there. See CSPC, 1677-80, No. 1249; *Ibid.*, 1708-09, No. 241. Henry A. M. Smith in "CFSC", p. 335, cites Secretary of State's Office, Grant Book, 1701-12, p. 37. See also Klingberg, ed., *Chronicle of Le Jau*, p. 98.

¹⁸CSPC, 1714-15, No. 573; 1716-17, No. 285; 1717-18, No. 823; 1719-20, Nos. 297, 319; 1720-21, No. 656.

the Chief Justice and member of the Proprietary party, approved local laws until 1716.¹⁹ Slave imports doubled in the period 1711-15, when they totalled 10,000. Slave rebellions, which had long been feared, were suppressed emphatically in 1711 and 1714 in the same severe manner prescribed by Governor James Kendall of Barbados in 1692. On the credit side, the success of the plantation economy attracted an influx of English merchants to Charleston to buy the rice crop, some setting up as planters.²⁰ They established the basis of the merchant class on whom new wealth depended and were soon to provide one-third of the Royal Councillors, equal with the planters. New efforts were made to encourage working settlers and to counteract Carolina's growing reputation as a colony of sickness.²¹

A more immediate threat than sickness portended. In 1712 the survival of the southern colonies was put at risk from Indian attacks, as yet uncoordinated, directed by the Tuscaroras at North Carolina. They were close enough to prompt mutual support and South Carolina sent John

¹⁹Nicholas Trott, Jnr., was a cousin of Nicholas Trott, son-in-law of Thomas Amy, kinsman of the Colletons, who had a disputed claim to the Hyde/Sothel/Amy proprietorship. In 1714 Sir John Colleton II appointed Nicholas Jnr., to be his Deputy on the Carolina Council. CSC, pp. 105, 122-3, 128, 132.

²⁰One of merchant Samuel Wragg's family became the wealthiest planter in South Carolina. Sirmans, "South Carolina Royal Council, 1720-63", *WMQ*, Vol XVIII (1961), pp. 373-80.

²¹Propaganda was issued by the Proprietary in leaflet form. A man with £1,000 was advised he could settle a plantation and earn £400 p.a. or take up 100 acres and earn £50 p.a. One hundred acres cost less than ten in England and were twice as productive. The laborious poor could settle fifty acres without money. The English exit ports included Bristol, Bideford, Exeter and Topsham; the single passage was £5 to £6 and could be paid in kind over four or five years. Churches and houses, even as early as 1712, were described as generally brick-built, some timber only.

Some slaves were available for minimal tasks. There was mention of Distemper and "Dry Bellyache" which affected men only and was probably caused by the excessive drinking of rum from lead piped stills, and punch drinking, as in Barbados. Gout was common.

Applications had to be made to the Proprietary, Coffee House, Birchin Lane, in writing, post paid, "But note, if postage is not then pay'd their letters will not come to hand, whereby they will fail of their expected Answer thereto, which resolution is taken to prevent the Cost of Postage of letters from unnecessary Scribblers that proposes no benefit thereby, but only to satisfy inquisitive Curiosity." See John Norris, *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor*, (London: 1712), pp. 13, 16, 28, 29, 71, 111.

Barnwell with Indian auxiliaries to the assistance of its neighbour.²² James Moore, Jnr., led another expedition the following year which heavily defeated the Tuscaroras. Bills of credit were issued by South Carolina to meet the cost. This precedent as a means of meeting campaign expenses beyond the resources of the provincial exchequer was to have major implications on the economy and future relations with the Mother Country. In February 1715 the Assembly sent Joseph Boone back to London with Richard Beresford as their two accredited agents.²³ Their task was to represent settler interests, to work for the alleviation of trading restrictions, the continuation of bounties on naval stores, the limitation of Chief Justice Trott's extraordinary powers and other objectionable measures which their predecessor Landgrave Kettelby had failed to achieve. They were to appeal direct to the Crown if necessary over the heads of the Proprietary.

And in case the proprietors do not redress our grievances after all necessary measures have been taken with them, we direct you to apply yourselves to a superior power in order that the same may be redressed.²⁴

The events of the following month gave defence of the colony a higher priority. Joseph, now aged thirty-five, had already proved himself to be an envoy of special talent in the Dissenter cause. His value was recognised, if not appreciated, by the whole Assembly but they took the precaution of balancing his sectarian loyalties with the Anglican affiliation of Richard Beresford, appointed to accompany him.²⁵

A hammer blow fell on South Carolina in April 1715 when the Yamasees and most other Indian tribes trading with the province carried

²²Barnwell, a renowned Indian fighter, was known for his exploits as "Tuscarora Jack". He was grandfather to the wife of Governor Thomas Boone, nephew of his future co-agent Joseph Boone.

²³Ella Lonn, *Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies*, p. 69.

²⁴Converse Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina*, pp. 169, 191, Ella Lonn, *Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies*, p. 69.

²⁵The Rev. (?) Richard Beresford, Councillor of South Carolina may have been a Barbadian. A Reverend Beresford owned property at St Andrew's, Barbados in 1679. Ford's Map of Barbados, page 165 above.

out the first of a series of attacks, the culmination of long resentments provoked by white abuses and their failure to control Indian trade.²⁶ The Proprietors had realised and often stressed the dangers throughout the settlement years. John Boone, James Moore, Senr., and Maurice Mathews, as examples from the Goose Creek community, had earned censure and loss of office for flagrant and illegal practices towards the Indians. The Proprietors had never succeeded in imposing effective controls. Sir Peter Colleton had made this responsibility of governorship an important aspect of James Colleton's instructions but the Governor was no more successful than his predecessors. The system set up under Thomas Nairne, the Indian Agent, had broken down by 1714. On 15 April 1715, the year after the accession of George I, the Yamasees attacked settlements near Port Royal. They murdered one hundred whites and tortured Indian agent Nairne to death. This raid was the signal for associated attacks in the southern frontier areas. Small garrisons of whites were placed in outlying areas, one of them at the head of the Cooper River, near the Colleton properties of Wadboo and Fairlawn. The Santee settlements further north were abandoned and Goose Creek itself became vulnerable.

On 14 July the Proprietary made a strong appeal to the Board of Trade for help and offered, as security for repayment of money advances, the return of the colony to the Crown. They warned of much greater dangers to all the British settlements in America "to which Carolina is a frontier".²⁷ They also offered immediate short term financial and material assistance from available Proprietary resources, but none of their own.²⁸ On 18 July the most telling call for assistance went directly to the Board of Trade from Kettleby, still in London, and Boone. "Nothing but the utmost expedition can save us."²⁹ The same month the Yamasees were repulsed by the militia under the new Governor Charles Craven and an expedition

²⁶Sirmans describes abuse as "the sole cause". CSC, p. 112.

²⁷CSPC, 1714-15, No. 511.

²⁸*Ibid.*, No. 517.

²⁹*Ibid.*, No. 523.

commanded by Barbadian Robert Daniel. While Craven was campaigning in the north, hundreds of raiding Apalaches took control of the country south of the Edisto, crossed the river and destroyed twenty plantations east of the river, including those of Joseph Boone and Mrs Joseph Blake.³⁰ Boone's new ship was burned on the stocks. The province was reduced to a small sector with an arc of 25 miles radius from Charleston, making Goose Creek a frontier area. Half of the settlements were abandoned and it took several years to recover from acute shortages of food. In August the Carolina Assembly petitioned the King, begging for his protection and government.³¹ For six months after the Yamasee incursion outlying settlers sought the security of the fortified area of Charleston and relief from Indian raiding parties.³² The threat to Carolina was ended by an alliance in early 1716 with the uncommitted Cherokees, but raids on frontier areas continued.

Boone soon fell out with the Proprietary, which was hardly surprising in view of his 1706 subversion of their authority. Their relationship could not have been eased by his view of their recent lack of personal commitment to Carolina and losses from Indian attacks on property, including his own. He and Beresford lodged repeated memorials and addresses directly to Crown officials and the Board of Trade, ignoring the Proprietary. In February 1716 Boone was rebuked by the Proprietors for his "very insolent manner" towards them in discussions over the allocation of ex-Yamasee lands in the Port Royal area and for refusing to attend a meeting. They recommended to the Assembly of South Carolina that he

³⁰She was the sister-in-law of Joseph Boone and mother of Joseph Blake, Jnr., Proprietor. Joseph Boone heard of these events in a letter of 7 October 1715 from Samuel Everleigh. It would be of interest to know if the Yamasees had selected Joseph's plantation on the assumption that his attitude towards Indians was similar to his cousin John Boone, Indian Trader, or in mistake for him. If so, it might help to confirm the view of modern historians that the assaults were for revenge and not entirely Spanish inspired. See CSPC, 1714-15, No. 642.

³¹*Ibid.*, No. 595.

³²There was a small fort near Oyster Point, Charleston, mounted with "near 100 cannon but they are too small the largest not exceeding 12 pound ball". Later, other forts, each manned by one hundred men, were located at Port Royal (eight to ten guns), Savano Town (sic) 140 miles away (5 or 6 guns) and at the head of the Santee River, 120 miles distant. PRO, CO 5/358, f.16.

should be deprived of £1,000 they had voted to him as a salary.³³ Boone had a personal interest in the Assembly's policy of employing incentives to encourage newcomers from Europe to build-up a predominantly white defensive settlement and secure the frontier. The Proprietors proposed to allocate the land to existing settlers which would have the contrary effect of thinning the population and the defences.³⁴ With this deployment, Boone's plantation on the Edisto would again be vulnerable. His policy of preventing foreign encirclement was an additional reason for a practical defensive posture. In March 1716 he submitted another address from the Assembly to the Crown seeking its protection for the proprietary colony. In June he and Beresford submitted "a sheaf of papers" to the board of Trade emphasising the mercantile assets of South Carolina.³⁵ They reiterated constantly the Proprietor's neglect in facing the threat of French encirclement behind the American colonies from Canada to Louisiana.³⁶ Their view was later endorsed by the answers to a questionnaire sent to colonial governors. Their response was that South Carolina

is a barrier and might be made a bulwark to all HM Collonys on the S.W. part of the Continent against French, Spaniards and Indians, etc.³⁷

In retrospect these confirmed warnings, their acceptance and incorporation into government strategic policy were probably the most important contribution made by Boone and Beresford. The implications were of continental relevance rather than purely provincial, the limited area of Proprietary responsibility. The agents made proposals for the southern flank.

The security desired may be effective if some forts and garrisons were placed on both sides of the Gulph of Florida

³³CSPC, 1716-17, No. 71.

³⁴Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977) p. 214, PRO CO 5, 290 f. 92, 292 ff. 84, 86.

³⁵Crane, *Ibid.*, p. 208, PRO CO 5, 1265, Q. 74-77.

³⁶Crane, *Ibid.*, p. 208, 209, PRO CO 5, 323. 7, K. 116.

³⁷CSPC, 1716-17, No. 226.

att Providence, att Port Royall and on the banks of the Isthmus of Florida towards Mobile...³⁸

The Proprietors might have expected Crown support for such a commitment. The Proprietary on its own would need to reach beyond its charter obligations and resources. Even adequate local security was more than the Proprietary could fund. Fortunately, Boone and Beresford had an appreciation of the larger defence issues beyond the confines of their agency responsibilities. They recognized that the consequences of a continental appraisal could influence present issues affecting the management of the colony. They could be used to help their case for Crown support and therefore hasten the introduction of Crown rule. The manner in which they deployed their arguments for continental defence with maximum effect, provoking the concern of the Crown, colonial officials, governors and parliament was well contrived. An appeal on the basis of local issues only could well have confined the issues to Proprietary level. Considering that Boone arrived in Carolina as a boy of seventeen and had no further education or political experience before visiting England in 1705, his political successes derived from a precocious shrewdness.

An Assembly bill of June 1716 abolished private Indian trade for profit and gave a monopoly to the Commons. A similar system of control, to be exercised by the Proprietary, had been advocated by Sir Peter Colleton over thirty years earlier. No system had ever been effectively policed. Sir Peter had anticipated the dangers of a lack of centralised control policy and forecast its result. In December 1716 Boone was understandably outraged to find evidence from an examination of customs returns that the Virginians had benefited from trade with Indians at war with Carolina, which even included guns.³⁹ The same year Governor Craven returned to England having selected, unbelievably, Robert Daniel as his Deputy, a senile Barbadian and one of the group of men who fled South Carolina in 1690 to escape the retribution of James Colleton for his displacement as Governor. Two more appeals in November 1716 and in

³⁸*Ibid.* Mobile was the French garrison.

³⁹Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, p. 173.

1717 for Crown assumption were dismissed by the Proprietors as partisan misrepresentations, but they had underestimated the extent of the Indian raids and their effect on South Carolina. Daniel was replaced in 1717 by Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel, experienced in Carolina affairs but also unable to convince the Proprietors of the damage caused by the Yamasee War and the drastic food shortages.

In the absence of adequate material or financial support from the Proprietary to pay the cost of the Indian wars, South Carolina issued further bills of credit well in excess of the £32,000 already issued by the Land Bank in 1712. Yet again Barbadian precepts had been copied although their Paper Money Act of 18 June 1705 had been annulled by the Crown. The total issued may have reached £100,000 by 1719, more than the economy of the province could sustain, although the Proprietary had ordered its restriction in September 1718.⁴⁰ The increasing debt devalued the bills to one quarter of sterling to the acute concern of the merchants. Reorganisation and loss of the Indian trade, taxes on exports, the resurgence of piracy and devaluation aligned the new but growing class of merchants against the ineffective Proprietary and in favour of the Crown. They were not slow to make their views known to influential friends in the City of London. Higher property taxes, the only alternative to other revenues disallowed by the Proprietary, the loss of four hundred of their community in the Indian Wars, food shortages, epidemics and economic difficulties increased frustrations. Piracy had assumed an alarming scale. Stede Bonnet, a Barbadian planter captured off Charleston, and forty-eight others were hanged in 1718, their fleet having apprehended virtually every ship leaving Charleston.

The Bahamas, neglected by their Proprietary as unmanageable without a garrison and a huge expenditure of money for settlement, had also become a nest of pirates. On 28 October 1717, with his fellow Proprietors, Sir John II signed the first Colleton Proprietary renouncement and the Bahamas reverted to the Crown to allow funded

⁴⁰CSC, pp. 115,116.

DEVIL'S ELBOW BARONY



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Source

Thomas Jefferys, The American Atlas, (London, 1776),
Section of Plate 24, South Carolina.

settlement of the islands.⁴¹ In 1718 he made good his previous year's acreage loss of both his Bahamian Proprietary and his half interest in the Colleton sugar plantations in Barbados. Under the rudimentary protection of a few frontier forts sited in 1716 and 1717, with patrols to cover gaps between them, it was now possible to take advantage of an evacuated area of ex-Yamasee coastal land. On 5 December 1718 Sir John II was granted a huge area, a Barony of 12,000 acres, described as the

entire tongue of land between May River and Oakatee or Colleton River, including the site of the present town of Bluffton. It was later known as the Devil's Elbow Barony (due to its peculiar shape) or Colleton Neck.⁴²

With the grant of four baronies to John Danson, on the same date, five of the fourteen to be disposed of were allocated.⁴³ The allocations were in place of the Assembly's practical ideas for reoccupation.⁴⁴ The peremptory cancellation of sensible Assembly legislation marked an abrupt return to Proprietary activity during 1718 and 1719 in the last stages of their rule. The Proprietors also revoked the settlement of 500 Irish Protestants approved by the Assembly on the same lands. Without the power to issue further bills of credit or impose import duties the Assembly was unable to retire existing credit without increasing their only source of revenue, the

⁴¹CSPC, 1717-18, Nos. 176, 183.

⁴²The authority for Colleton's grant is cited by Henry A. M. Smith as Secretary of State's Office, *Memorial Book*, Vol. IV, p. 118. See also "CFSC", p. 335 and map on page 241.

⁴³The four Baronies of 12,000 acres each granted to John Danson, Proprietor and son-in-law of John Archdale, were twice the stipulated allocation. CSPC, 1719-20, No. 773.

Sir John II's other property still included 12,000 acres at Fairlawn seignory; Mulberry, once of 4,000 acres, but reduced by sale or exchange with Broughton; 9 acres of Charleston, including Colleton Square; possibly Collington Island in North Carolina granted to his grandfather, and substantial property in Exeter. He had never settled in America, but invested in a considerable inheritance for his sons who did settle there. The Bluffton land must have held special interest for him. Its natural features, the availability of naval stores and shipping facilities made it one of the most attractive areas of the southern coastline. Hilton's original reconnaissance report was now fully vindicated but earlier settlement there had provoked Spanish reaction in defence of Florida.

⁴⁴CSPC, 1719-20, No. 151.

tax on property. For these reasons the Proprietary lost all vestiges of support in the colony.

Proprietary policy for Yamasee land could hardly have been less helpful towards creating the rapid build-up of newcomers and defence envisaged by Joseph Boone. The creation of such large empty frontier areas in the diluted ownership of single individuals, well beyond their resources to settle quickly, was entirely at odds with Boone's and Beresford's strategic analysis. It was also an invitation to further invasions of South Carolina territory. The actions of the Proprietary look suspiciously like an attempt to absorb every available acre before the termination of their charter.⁴⁵ The Assembly could no longer tolerate their impositions. Rumours of an impending Spanish attack in August 1720 and the strong probability that no help would be forthcoming encouraged the anti-Proprietary party to invite Governor Johnson to assume authority on behalf of the King. On his refusal to act treasonably a convention of the Assembly elected illegally James Moore, Jnr., hero of the Tuscarora Wars, as provisional governor.⁴⁶

The work of Boone and Beresford in England had given the Board of Trade ample notice of the probable outcome of the dispute with the Proprietary. In February 1720 the Assembly made a detailed appeal to the King. Although it suffers from some exaggeration and inaccuracy, it listed the omissions of the Proprietary in implementing the 1665 Charter with particular reference to religious matters and the failure to provide any places of worship. The Proprietors were accused of exercising a "despotick authority exceeding the regal power in Great Britain". That the Governor and Council "have put us under unspeakable hardships never knowing our constitucon" was an extreme and inaccurate statement. The opponents of the Proprietary in the colony had never allowed the acceptance of a constitution. They claimed that the Proprietors' Deputies

⁴⁵The Privy Council called for an explanation. *JTP*, 1720-1745, pp. 173-177.

⁴⁶*CSPC*, 1720-21, Nos. 194, 195.

on the Council "carry everything they can in favour of the Lords Proprietors". This is hardly surprising.⁴⁷ When the Deputies voted against the Lords Proprietors "they are turned out and others put in their room", which is also not surprising. The appeal laid the blame for the Yamasee War on the Spanish garrison at St Augustine, a view once supported by historians but it is not the reason now generally accepted. The belief in Spanish support was a commonly expressed view of Carolina settlers and may have had at least some validity. They may have used the Spanish as an excuse and conveniently failed to recognise abuse as the cause of provocation. Nevertheless, many other Indian and Spanish initiatives were inter-related. One of the signatories to the appeal was Joseph Boone's previous informant about damage to his property, Samuel Everleigh. Three of the six other appellants were of Barbadian origin. Barbadian influence and leadership among opponents to the Proprietary remained strong and pervasive.⁴⁸

Boone was joined in London during the spring of 1720 by "Tuscarora Jack", Colonel John Barnwell, veteran of Indian warfare, as a specialist second agent.⁴⁹ On 10 August Boone was sent a questionnaire by the Board of Trade, addressed to Agents for American Colonies, which asked for a variety of information.⁵⁰ Questions 17 and 18 would elicit a general response from other colonies and test the validity of Boone's often repeated views on the dangers of French encirclement:

- Q. 17. What is the strength of neighbouring Europeans?
- Q. 18. What effect have the French settlements on the Continent of America upon H.M. Plantations?

Boone wrote in answer to the first question:

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 1719-20, No. 541.

⁴⁸Lawyer Richard Allein, Alexander Parris and Bernard Schenckinagh.

⁴⁹His future granddaughter, Sarah Tatnall, married Joseph Boone's nephew, Governor Thomas Boone, forty years later, as her second husband. Boone signed the answers but not Barnwell. See PRO CO5/358, f.18.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

But what is of the greatest consequence not only to Carolina but to all North America is the new French settlement of Mississippi who not only increase by vast numbers imported from France but use all the diligence imaginable to gain the Indians to their interest. (Illegible) reports that they have already 4,000 French there.

His second answer warned of the dangers inherent in linear coastal defence and multiple Administrations.

It is well known to your Lordships that H.M. Plantations are scattered along the Sea Coast and separated into several Proprietaries and different governments who have different views and interests Now the French have but one General Governor and but one Interest situated on the Back of the British Colonies....

The replies of two Lieutenant Governors in particular, Spotswood of Virginia and Keith of Pennsylvania, did indeed confirm Boone's opinion. Together they reinforced the decision by the Crown to assume authority over Carolina, supporting Boone's main objective.⁵¹ In an acknowledgement of the French threat the Board asked Boone and Barnwell to identify suitable garrison locations.⁵² In the answers to the other nineteen questions Boone's quoted statistics provide a brief but informative analysis of South Carolina in 1720.⁵³

It was clear by 15 September 1720 that the colony and its agents had succeeded in their task. Colonel Francis Nicholson, the first royal governor of Carolina, had been appointed.⁵⁴ He had the widest experience of colonial administration of any official in the empire and had been Governor of New York, Virginia and Maryland. The decision to take

⁵¹CSPC, 1720-21, No. 207.

⁵²*Ibid.*, No. 208.

⁵³South Carolina had 18 to 20 small sailing vessels not exceeding 1,500 tons; 60,000 furs, 70,000 barrels of pitch and 16,000 barrels of rice were traded annually. There were 9,000 white inhabitants, decreased since 1715 due to massacres and refuge from Indians, and 12,000 blacks increasing by 1,000 annually (due to the requirements of the pitch and tar trade), endangering the Province. (Modern computations are 40% less for whites). There were 2,000 militia men "little inferior to disciplined troops". £50,000 of British manufactures were purchased annually (about £5 per head of the whites). PRO CO 5/358, ff. 13-18.

⁵⁴CSPC, 1720-21, No. 232.

over on a temporary basis was made on 11 August 1720 before further appeals seeking protection and justifying Moore's illegal administration had reached London.⁵⁵ This was fortunate as the Board of Trade had advised the Privy Council to take no action which would indicate support for Moore's rebellion. The Board of Trade later confirmed in its report to the King of 8 September 1721 that his assumption of authority was due "to the great disorder" of Moore's rebel government and was not attributed to Proprietary mismanagement. The King was reminded "this colony is the southern frontier to your Majesty's plantations on the Continent" in an echo of Boone's consistent theme.⁵⁶ A flurry of activity resulted in a report on Indian trade by Barnwell, whom Nicholson wished to accompany him to Carolina, instructions for an independent company of troops to be posted at the mouth of the Altamaha River on the frontier, a list of gifts for the Indians submitted by Boone and Barnwell and proposals for forts and war stores. Part of Boone's reply to the questionnaire concerned his view of the strategic issue which he and Beresford had held so strongly. He had advised under another head that settlers considered that regulation of the Indian trade was of no value unless defensive measures were taken to secure the frontier. Boone and Barnwell proposed a township scheme to provide a presence and manpower for tactical defence. It involved a line of forts to be occupied during periods of alert by white settlers in return for concessions. The Board of Trade integrated this scheme into wider plans for continental defence from Canada to Florida. Later the Privy Council would not approve the cost and the Altamaha fort, named Fort King George, was the only one then built. Nevertheless, it was recognition of Boone's success in convincing the Board of Trade of the need for a southern barrier to French exploitation.

One of Boone's last acts in England before returning to Carolina was to complain that the province could not compete with Italy over supplies of rice to Portugal. Due to the restrictive Navigation Acts, exports had to be sent first to England, resulting in doubled freight costs. It was the

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, No. 194, 195.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, No. 656.

start of a long history of requests for concessions and a bounty for South Carolina's staple crop which continued until the last Agency, a half-century later, when the negotiations were handled by Charles Garth.

Colonel James Moore wrote to Boone on 19 January 1721 to give credit for his achievements in ending the Proprietary.⁵⁷ Nicholson's forthcoming arrival,

administers great joy to the whole Province *and makes us have the best conceptions of your successful solicitations.* Continue we beg of you to follow the Proprietors in every step they take to the disadvantage of Carolina.

The Governor arrived in Charleston in June 1721 accompanied by Barnwell, sent to take over the Altamaha River in the name of the Crown and to build the fort he had recommended. Nicholson found the populace ready to credit all favourable events to the King and blame all adverse ones on the Proprietors. After a long period of good weather, which was attributed to the King, Nicholson described in his October report to the Board that the tradesmen of Charleston held the Lords Proprietors responsible for filling "the butchers' shops with large blue flies".⁵⁸

On 8 September 1721 the Council of Trade reported to the King on the state of the American colonies, adding "an account of the French settlements and of the encroachments they have made in your majesty's colonies." They endorsed Boone's proposals for forts, recommended four regiments "to prevent further encroachments of the French" and represented his views about the cost to exporters of freighting rice, "the rice of Carolina being esteemed the best in the world".⁵⁹ Boone had done his work supremely well. He was acknowledged by James Moore, Jnr., to have been instrumental in achieving what his father, an anti-proprietary Goose Creek leader and Anglican opponent of Dissenters, had always sought. Joseph, as a descendant, like his wife, of a regicide

⁵⁷CSPC, 1720-21, No. 363.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Preface, p. xvii.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, No. 656.

parliamentarian family had played a key role in securing royal rule for the colony. Its charter had first given devolved authority to the Proprietors in 1663 following the initiative of his nephew's ancestor, Sir John Colleton. The several ironies of Boone's position illustrate the adaptability of family relationships during the last few decades and its tolerance of political and religious realignments.

Joseph returned finally to Carolina, probably early in 1722, at the age of forty-four. He had successfully accomplished all the tasks given to him, first by the Dissenters, and later the Assembly, under difficult circumstances. He spent the rest of his life on Boone's Barony in Colleton County. He left no children. His heirs were the two sons, as yet unborn, of his brother Charles, Governor of Bombay from 1715 to 1722 during the time Joseph was in London, and his wife Elizabeth Garth.⁶⁰ By a further twist of fate Joseph's American property devolved upon an heir who lost it by confiscation following the 1775 revolt against the Crown regime he had worked to recall. The last survivor of the Boone's of Lee gave a neat touch to the family association with the Colletons by leaving her inherited wealth to the British descendant of the founding proprietor, the son of Charles Garth, the last Agent for Carolina.⁶¹

The Proprietary had lasted fifty-seven years from the Charter to its suspension covering three generations of Colletons, father, sons and grandsons. Two of them, Sir Peter and Sir John II, served the Proprietary for a total of forty-five years. This excludes a break of eight years during the latter's minority, when his proxy attended meetings. It would be appropriate at the demise of the Proprietary to review some of the reasons for their rapid loss of authority. Inevitably, there were deficiencies in the quality of leadership provided by governors and the way

⁶⁰Charles Boone became a Commissioner of the East India Company like Christopher Boone of Lee, his great-uncle. While Governor of Bombay he was saved from assassination by his Hindu servant. Boone had the boy's portrait painted by a distinguished artist. He returned to England as a widower with one son Daniel, who became an M.P. *HP:HC*, 1754-1790, Vol. II, p. 101.

⁶¹Harriet Boone, Lady Drummond, died in 1837 and left the considerable residue of her estate to Charles Garth's son, Captain Thomas Garth, R.N. See Table 1 and Lady Drummond's will, HHA Box 9/S.

they exercised delegated authority but the principal responsibility must lie with the Proprietary. They obtained very little financial benefit from the new colony, largely because they under-resourced it. They expected the new province to be at least self-financing, but the lack of corporate investment had three important consequences. The Proprietary were unable to make their investment grow to provide adequate central funds and they were unable to afford reasonable contributions towards community and national obligations, especially defence. The committed Proprietors invested independently in their own plantations to obtain a satisfactory return. The frustration of the settlers drove them to self-dependence, disloyalty to the Proprietary and political instability. The efforts of the Proprietors were over-concentrated on their constitution and too little to structure and investment.

Sir Peter served for twenty-seven years in a leading role. The period of royal rule lasted two years less than the Proprietary period, fifty-five years from the arrival of Governor Nicholson. In analysing periods of office the short tenure of governor's appointments is a notable factor. From the first appointment until 1696 only two Carolina governors survived a tenure of over two years. This represented the response time for a very limited number of transatlantic postal communications. Some instructions from England were out of date before they were drafted. Short periods of office were most frequently associated with loss of Proprietary confidence. Duplicate and private lines of communication were inevitable and abounded. The information received by these means was often given greater weight than governors' reports and provided a reason for querying them. Governors had to endure competing and hostile lobbying in Whitehall. This would come from agents of the Commons House or Assembly who sent instructions and received advice by this means quite separately from official channels. The situation was made even more difficult for governors when agents like the Gentlemen Planters of Barbados in London held official positions on central policy-making bodies. The Committee for Foreign Plantations, the Board of Trade Committees and the Royal African Company are examples. They had sufficient influence to countermand or circumvent instructions issued to the governors of colonies in which their members held subordinate posts. The Governor was often an isolated middleman, at odds with his superiors

and his Assembly or even his own Council. Similar situations to the Barbados experience of duplicate communications arose in the eighteenth century when the Carolina Assembly or their dissenting religious faction appointed their own agents in London.

Proprietary policy remained reasonably consistent throughout the period even if the details were controversial like the terms of the Fundamental Constitutions, or contradictory, as in the case of the decentralisation of land grants. The Proprietors were scrupulous in their efforts to maintain correct and peaceful relations with the Indians and neighbouring foreign powers. Being dependent on the goodwill of the Crown, and often holding membership of central government committees, it was difficult for them not to identify with the tenor of central policy. The Proprietary were especially concerned with the rights of the individual and often altered or delayed instructions to accommodate individual views. There have been examples in this thesis of Proprietary instructions to enhance Indian welfare in the future interests of settlers, especially from Sir Peter Colleton, which they subverted or ignored. Sir Peter also demonstrated impartiality by attempting to give even-handed opportunities to French Huguenot and Scottish migrants.

The alterations to the Carolina constitution to meet changing circumstances, the waning of Proprietary authority and inability to change the course of affairs allowed dissident elements, like the Goose Creek men, to strengthen their opposition under weak or powerless governors. Joseph Boone gave a colourful illustration of the consequences of frequent constitutional revision in his 1720 evidence to the Board of Trade. He attributed a novel objective to the opponents of the constitution.

It is difficult to describe its Real Constitution under the Proprietary for they made soe many alterations and soe many Fundamental Constitutions and soe many rules of Government that it became a heap of confusion the inhabitants have moddled (sic) the Government as they could to that of Virginia.⁶²

⁶²PRO CO5/358, f. 15 (Answer to Question 3).

Disregard for remote authority hastened the termination of Proprietary rule and the royal authority which followed. Most instructions issued by the Proprietors after the death of Peter Colleton and John Archdale were sent without the benefit of local experience. Consultation was a lengthy process and there was stubborn reaction to peremptory directives issued to a divided and argumentative community. A large number of early settlers in Carolina absorbed anti-authoritarian qualities in Barbados where planters like Sir John Colleton had often protested against the fiscal and political impositions of the Commonwealth in order to retain some measure of independence and liberty.

In the later years membership of the Proprietary lost the dominant and influential presence of national figures due to the sale or inheritance of Proprietorships. Very few Proprietors, except the Palatine, had strong links with the Court or principal officers of state and proxies attended for minors. Attendance was often poor. The decline of Proprietary prestige did not go unnoticed in Carolina. In retrospect it is easy to see the acute need for a forceful and capable member of the Proprietary to have visited the province regularly, especially to provide support for the governor. The evidence points to just such an intention by Sir Peter Colleton in the early days of settlement, when it was most necessary. He referred to a plan to meet Locke and Willoughby in Carolina in 1673. Shaftesbury's fall, Willoughby's death and Colleton's assumption of the Barbados governorship aborted a sensible and essential proposal.

Although historians have stressed the impact of Barbadians on early Carolina, there were only four Barbadian governors during the first fifty years of settlement. Two of them, John Yeamans and James Colleton, held office by commission, both within the first twenty years. Gibbes and Daniel held short temporary appointments made by the Council within the last ten years of Proprietary rule. The Proprietors were not prepared to risk an anti-proprietary governor and normally avoided the confirmation of anti-Proprietary deputy governors. Only Yeamans and Colleton of Barbados could be said to have made an impact. In both terms of office they put the future of the Proprietary at risk, while under great pressure in Colleton's case, and there were strong negative aspects to both governorships. The Barbadian faction destroyed any opportunity for a consensus constitution

and formed a nucleus of opposition to the Proprietary which made its fall inevitable. However, the aggressive self-confidence of Barbadians and their expertise in managing a plantation economy enabled the colony to survive the difficult early period of settlement. During the exploitation phase stubborn determination was more appropriate for survival than political balance. Barbadians stamped their way of life on the province. The settlements in Carolina, ethnically and religiously,

rapidly came to look less like the early Chesapeake and more like Barbados, the source of almost half the whites and more than half of the blacks among the original colonists.⁶³



During the period of Boone's agency, matters were finally resolved in the long standing dispute between the senior and junior descendants of Sir John Colleton I over his Barbados plantation settlement. Its resolution and some necessary narrative details before the departure of James Colleton's heirs from Barbados are included as an end-piece to this chapter. The dispute gives evidence of the obstinate and contentious attitude of the enigmatic ex-Governor James Colleton in an apparently trivial matter. It is therefore of some final relevance to an assessment of his motivation and character.

During 1706 John, the only son of James Colleton, inherited his father's substantial properties in Carolina as well as his share of the Colleton plantations in Barbados. He showed no sign of wishing to take personal control of his American plantations. Governor Crowe nominated him as a replacement for one of the Royal Councillors of Barbados suspended on the instructions of the Crown for voting in favour of the Paper Money Act. The late James Colleton had also been a supporter of the Act.⁶⁴ The following year John Colleton and his fellow planters, concerned about internal animosities, the economic plight of Barbados and

⁶³Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 50.

⁶⁴CSPC, 1706-08, No. 1090.

its lack of defence, petitioned the Queen for the despatch of a regular regiment.⁶⁵ John Colleton's rapid assumption of a leading role in the island was quickly challenged by his cousin Sir John II, who informed the Board of Trade that his interest in acquiring a council seat was to enable him to delay the resolution of the tediously 'drawn-out' family suit. A further delay occurred in 1708. When the Court of Chancery which included Colleton met to hear the case he properly withdrew, leaving the Court without the conventional quorum of four members and the Governor.⁶⁶ Yet a further caveat against his appointment as a Councillor was lodged by Sir John in 1709.⁶⁷

At the same time John Colleton married Elizabeth Drax (nee Ernle), sister of Sir Edward Ernle and widow of Thomas Drax of Drax Hall, three miles from the Colleton Plantation at St John's.⁶⁸ The marriage strengthened the position of John Colleton in Barbados and formed the basis of a future political alliance with the Drax family in the British parliament. The association with the Ernles enabled the descendants of Colonel Thomas Garth and his wife Elizabeth Colleton to make territorial and political links in the Devizes area of Wiltshire where their son John Garth and grandson Charles Garth were to become Members of Parliament. Children soon followed the marriage. James Edward, Ann, and yet another John, were born in Barbados from 1710.

John Colleton's first cousin Peter, son of his uncle Thomas, was given permission by the Proprietary in 1709 to dispose of his inherited 12,000-

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, No. 1256.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 1328.

⁶⁷CSPC, 1708-09, No. 616.

⁶⁸He had changed from his father's name (Shattenden) to inherit Drax from his uncle Henry Drax, nephew of Sir James Drax, one of the earliest settlers in Barbados. The Colletons therefore became connected to the oldest planter family. Elizabeth Colleton's first son Henry Drax inherited Drax Ball, Barbados, and Ellerton, in Yorkshire. Henry's wife Elizabeth Ernle inherited Charborough, Dorset, from her Erle mother. Elizabeth Colleton's second son, James Edward Colleton, married, secondly, Frances Jennings, whose mother was an Erle-Drax. The wives of the two half brothers were thus related. J.E. Buchanan, *Haines Hill*, HHA, (Unpublished, 1965).

acre Barony of Cypress.⁶⁹ He sold it for only £800 Barbados. It is possible that his father had taken up only a portion of the original grant. With the sale he lost the inherited title of Landgrave and severed the connection of his father's line with Carolina. In view of Peter's small inherited share of the Barbados plantations it is surprising he gave up the Barony at a time when the economy, if not the stability of the province, was showing progress.⁷⁰

In 1712 John Colleton of Barbados made a positive effort to bring to an end his dispute with his cousin Sir John II in England, through the good offices of Colonel William Cleland.⁷¹ Cleland's letter revealed at last that James Colleton's denial of any income from the Colleton plantations to Sir John II had been a reaction to his nephew's attitude over the redistribution of a one-sixth share of their inheritance.⁷² This share had been due to John Colleton, son of Sir John I and brother of Sir Peter, Thomas and James, who had died in 1668 shortly after the duel in which

⁶⁹The purchasers were Gough, Arthur and Mahon. (James Mahon was from St John's, Barbados) The Proprietary allowed the Barony to be split into one 5,000-acre and two 3,500-acre lots. The latter two were known as Limerick after the homeland of its new owners and were subsequently sold, mainly to David Huger. One of his family, Benjamin Huger, married Mary Kinloch, sister of Francis Kinloch, the ward of Governor Thomas Boone. CSPC, 1708-09, No. 464; "CFSC", p. 329 (Smith dates the sale as 1707); "Kinloch Letters", JSH, Vol. VIII (1942) pp. 91, 93, and map on page 201 above.

⁷⁰John Colleton showed no intention of relinquishing his father's plantations. In 1712 he gave one hundred acres of Wadboo Plantation at Biggin for the new parish church of St John's Berkeley, which later contained the Colleton graves. The final destruction of the church occurred in the 19th century.

⁷¹Cleland was one of the promoters of a bill to allow paper credit to cover debts. It was repealed by Queen Anne and Cleland dismissed as a Councillor. James Colleton was also said to have supported the bill. Sir John Colleton II was unlikely to consider Cleland impartial. CSPC, 1706-08, Nos. 612, 1257.

⁷²The letter is reproduced in full at Appendix L. The Barbadian John Colleton's mother-in-law, Mrs Ernle, tried to influence the Council of Trade on his behalf in 1711 to permit him to take his seat on the Barbados Council. Sir John II wrote from Exeter in 1715 and continued to press his case against his cousin. John's brother-in-law Sir Edward Ernle petitioned the King on his behalf in 1716. He was described by Sir Edward as "a Gentleman of one of the best estates in the island." The King was advised that the suit might shortly be resolved and John could then fill the first vacancy. The dispute was ended on 22 April 1717. See CSPC, 1711-12, No. 209; *Ibid.*, 1714-15, No. 158; *Ibid.*, 1716-17, Nos. 132, 147, 151, 152, 234, 238, 255, 539; *Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial)*, Vol II, 1680-1720, p. 708, No. 1254.

he had killed the son of Sir John Yeamans. The case was eventually settled, without an independent judicial hearing, in April 1717, twenty years after the first petition. Sir John II accepted £12,500 from John, son of James, in consideration of his entire Barbados interest.⁷³ As Sir John II claimed to have been denied an annual income of £1,000 from the plantations, the final settlement valued his half share, which was not in contention, at only twelve and a half times the annual yield. It was less than the sum which he was due in unpaid interest. Peter, the son of Sir John II's uncle Thomas, died in 1717 and received no personal benefit from the settlement. As a result John, son of James, had the whole estate in his possession from 1717.

William Cleland's clever letter as mediator discloses the point at issue, whether duellist John's one-sixth share should have been added on his death to Sir Peter's half share, included in the total for allocation to the inheritors or sub-divided between James and the deceased Thomas' son, Peter. The amount of land in contention, after all the fuss, was the difference between a sixth and a quarter share, or one twelfth, to James and his nephew Peter. James had already inherited 5,000 acres of Carolina property which he and his brothers had been granted in common.⁷⁴ He had deliberately avoided a fair hearing of a case which he must have had a very good chance of winning. On the available evidence there is some support for the old criticism that James Colleton was avaricious.⁷⁵ His defensive behaviour creates doubt as to the justice of his case but it is hard to believe that such lengthy and dogged procrastination was not caused by some additional aspect of the circumstances which is still to emerge. The Privy Council was happy to approve John's appointment to the Barbados Council after the settlement. It was not long afterwards that he made plans to return to England with his growing

⁷³Sir John Colleton II's indentures of 15 and 16 April 1717, HHA, unreferenced.

⁷⁴Excluding substantial town grants in Charleston he had received all the property held jointly until the death of his brothers, Sir Peter and Thomas. See Table 5, page 158 above.

⁷⁵These events have not been used as evidence by C.M. Andrews, M.E. Sirmans, or Henry A.M. Smith.

family. Their education and a position in eighteenth century English society had more appeal than a frontier area of South Carolina. To John Colleton and his wife the uncertainties in America caused by the Indian Wars and the French threat placed the attractions of security before adventure.

PART 5

Royal Rule and Disaffection (1721-1764)

Chapter 10 The Maturity of South Carolina

Chapter 11 The Defeat of Governor Thomas Boone

Chapter 10

The Maturity of South Carolina

This chapter will span the forty years between the agency of Joseph Boone and the governorship of his nephew Thomas. The political events of the period are examined cursorily due to minor Colleton involvement during those years in the affairs of Carolina and Barbados. The Assembly was preoccupied with the issue of paper currency, the removal of restrictions on the marketing of exports but especially the assertion of authority to pass money bills without amendment by the Royal Council. The insistence by the Commons House on their fiscal superiority later became the obsession of the American representative Assemblies and central to the causes of the revolution. The Commons House exercised their increasing power by limiting the authority first of the Royal Council, then of the Governor, in continuation of the struggle pursued since the landings of 1670.

Governor Nicholson began his administration in May 1721 in a climate of goodwill as the long awaited representative of royal dominion and succour. He was fortunate that the economy prospered and was quick to take the initiative for reform. The Royal Council was given a more representative constituent mix. Both houses functioned more effectively with the Governor's willingness to listen to advice and approve their legislation. The Barnwell-Boone township plans for the southern frontier areas received support and incentives from the Assembly but had to be delayed because of the opposition of the Proprietors. Equally unhelpful, the Board of Trade made no exceptions to the Navigation Act to assist rice exports to the Iberian Peninsula and their failure to allow a bounty on pitch and tar produced by the American method soon ended the use of Beaufort and other producing areas as suppliers of these commodities to the British navy.¹ Rice growers were more fortunate and were able to expand their markets. Within a few years production doubled.

¹The Swedish method qualified for bounty and used green timber.

The significant action by Nicholson in his first four years was his approval of the 1723 Paper Currency Act increasing the total in issue to £120,000 in order to meet government debts. The Act was opposed by the merchants who suffered the effect of depreciation on paper money relative to the hard currency necessary for dealing with their home market. Their links with men of influence in England led to a demand by the Board of Trade for the retirement of the 1721 and 1723 Acts authorising paper money. Under pressure from all political quarters the Carolina Assembly substituted a slower rate of retirement. In the first significant demonstration in Carolina of merchant power and influence the Governor was granted home leave by the Privy Council in May 1725 to answer charges against him made largely by the merchant lobby for his handling of the currency.

While there were no Colletons personally involved in these events the currency issue and the precedents for the passage of money bills was to assume pre-eminent importance during Charles Garth's agency forty years later.² As rice growers, and suppliers of timber and naval stores from their great plantations, Sir John Colleton II and his cousin John of Barbados, with about 27,000 acres and 18,000 acres respectively, were concerned with the price they would obtain for their staple crops from merchants whose profits were under pressure from depreciation. They had a special interest in bounty negotiations for naval stores and rice. The ability of Sir John II to play a part in the affairs of the Proprietary was reduced by his removal from Essex to Exmouth. He was now remote from the meetings of the Proprietary and merchant offices in London. Aware of the lack of personal supervision on his American plantations, he planned to send his two eldest sons to South Carolina. Peter, the younger son, was to manage the new and isolated southern frontier Barony near Beaufort.

While Sir John's family were committing themselves more positively to plantation activities in America his Barbadian cousin was about to take the decision to return permanently to England. Barbados was to cease

²See Chapter 12.

being the primary overseas Colleton domicile after seventy three years on the island. John had become involved in a dispute with Acting Governor Cox, accused by the Board of Trade of conducting a disorderly administration. Cox suspended Colleton and six others from the Royal Council but their reinstatement was ordered by the Board.³ The unsatisfactory aspects of Cox's governorship may have been an additional incentive for John Colleton to leave Barbados at the age of forty, after the resolution in 1717 of the wearying family property dispute. He arranged for an attorney to supervise the Leeward and Cliff estates.⁴ His sons were at an age to receive a public school education in England and were to be sent to Eton.⁵ The administration of the Carolina plantations could be accomplished through merchant links in London. During recent years in Barbados he and his family had been isolated from mainstream 18th century domestic, political, social and scholastic activities which his capital and plantation income would enable them to enjoy in England. Even the connections with Carolina were looser than in the early settlement days.⁶ It is possible to trace his business and domestic activities from a detailed accounts ledger which he maintained in a very legible hand from his return to London on 17 November 1723 until his death in December 1755.⁷ Only a meticulous man could have produced such a detailed and scrupulous record. The accounts show exports from the Barbados and Carolina plantations, the volume and proceeds of sugar and rice crops by year, ship's captain or producer, dividends received for his share of the ship *Hothersall* trading on behalf of the shareholders and a wealth of other detail. The sugar shipments were made to Sir John Eyles, an important London trader originating in Wiltshire.

³CSPC, 1720-21, No. 421; *Ibid*, 1722-23, No. 121.

⁴Précis of his *Account Book*, Appendix M. The full accounts are in HHA, Book 16.

⁵HHA, Box 8.

⁶After 1715 Charleston received more ships from Great Britain than any American port except Boston which it exceeded in the late 1730's. *English Atlantic*, p. 34.

⁷HHA, Book 16.

Eyles was a member of the powerful merchant lobby with transatlantic links. He and his brother could apply pressure to politicians responsible for determining issues in the colonies. He is first mentioned in John Colleton's accounts in 1724. Colleton's sugar business averaged £2,200 annually from 1725 to 1756.⁸ Rice from Carolina produced 292 barrels in 1835 and £432.12.10 was credited to the accounts at just under £1.10.0 per barrel. The entries serve to illustrate the connection between wealth and political influence of the merchant community as well as the reciprocal benefits for Colleton's family. The discharge of Eyles' obligation to Colleton for the Barbados trade may have been made later through the political patronage of Sir John Eyles and his brother Francis. Between them they covered the period 1715 to 1742 as Members of Parliament for Devizes and were likely to have secured the second borough seat for John Colleton's first cousin, John Garth, in 1740. John Colleton's wife Elizabeth Ernle of Whetam, Devizes, was from another influential Wiltshire family shortly able to lend political support to Colleton descendants.

Colleton rented accommodation in Marlborough Street after arrival in London and at the end of 1724 secured the lease of a house in Bond Street which he retained for many years and left to his widow.⁹ His removal from Barbados meant the submission, for thirteen years, of applications for leave of absence from the Barbados Council. Almost as numerous were complaints from the Governor of Barbados about his continued absence.¹⁰ These culminated in his resignation from the Council in 1739. His Carolina plantations continued to be run by an 'attorney'.¹¹ Entries in his

⁸This confirms that Sir John II's annual entitlement from The Cliff and The Leeward plantations of £1,000 p.a. for a half share, withheld for twenty years during the dispute, may have been more than the plantations could bear. The sales figures in John Colleton's accounts are gross (not net) profit. *Ibid.*, Appendix N.

⁹He also took leases on several country properties, often simultaneously. In the early years these were Sibsey Hall in the Fens, Greetham House, near Horncastle, Claxby near Alford, all in Lincolnshire, and Freestone House, 7 miles north east of Pembroke. HHA, Book 16.

¹⁰CSPC, 1724-25, No. 448, 1726-27, No. 203, 1737, No. 291, 1738, No. 495, *JTP*, 1738, No. 260, 1739, No. 269.

¹¹A term in common use in Barbados and Carolina. It has a similar role to agent or factor but it allowed him, necessarily, more responsibility and independence.

accounts from 1735 cast light on the role of Thomas Gadsden, a new and ambitious landowner, father of Christopher, who payed-in small sums, one year on behalf of Symonds and Co.¹²

John Colleton's translation to England proved to be a wiser decision in the long run than his cousin's emigration to assume direct control of their Baronies in Carolina, where in May 1725 the President of the Council, Arthur Middleton, assumed responsibility for the administration of South Carolina during Nicholson's absence in England.¹³ Middleton was born in Charleston in 1681, a member of the anti-Proprietary Goose Creek community and had married Sarah Amory, daughter of the Speaker of the House of Assembly. He was a wealthy planter of little tact. Wisely, he had been delegated very limited authority by Nicholson to legislate, but he rejected attempts to increase the limit of paper money. The Assembly established a historic precedent on 14 December 1725, after the rejection of a tax bill, by resolving that the Council had no right to amend such bills. It marked their determination to fight for exclusive control of taxation.

In a shock announcement the Proprietors declared in February 1726 that they wished to resume control of Carolina and nominated Samuel Horsey as Governor. Meanwhile the collapse in the market for naval stores caused a serious economic depression and widespread militancy among small farmers. The only success of Middleton's administration was the severe repulse in early 1727 of a new Yamasee attack which brought peace to the southern frontier. Middleton's chaotic government finally

¹²This Gadsden was probably the father of Christopher Gadsden. After five entries his name is missing from the accounts from 1741, the year in which Thomas is known to have died. This aspect of Thomas Gadsden's career, possibly as a plantation factor or rice buyer, at a time when he already owned 6,000 acres is not mentioned by E.S. Godbold and R.H. Woody. Christopher Gadsden's reaction to electoral disqualification by Colleton's cousin, Thomas Boone, was decisive in ending Boone's career as Governor of South Carolina. *Christopher Gadsden and the American Revolution*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).

¹³Middleton was hardly a Barbadian as attributed by Richard S. Dunn. The Middletons were representative of the influential South Carolina families of the 17/18 C. For both reasons a profile of them is given at Appendix F. *Sugar and Slaves*, p. 114.

broke down in 1728 under conditions of near-anarchy and the most serious political crisis since the first settlement. The Proprietors thought better of resuming their charge and by May 1727 had already decided to sell the two Carolinas to the Crown. Nicholson died in March 1728 but no action was taken by the Privy Council to decide on the future of the province until 1729.

Crown negotiations with the Proprietary, using ex-Governor Robert Johnson as intermediary, resulted in the King's agreement to pay £2,500 in compensation for the revocation of each proprietorship except Lord Carteret's. Carteret wished to retain his full one-eighth share, but surrendered his political rights in the same way as his colleagues. By 1729 Carteret, Craven and Colleton were the only holders of a proprietor's share still in the hands of the original proprietary families. The King accepted the proposal of Sir John Colleton II and his fellows that the Crown should allow them £5,000 as compensation for their lost entitlement to rents. The rights to the Bluffton Devil's Elbow Barony, which Sir John had given in 1726 to his second son Peter, were acknowledged to have been legally conveyed and, like earlier formally registered land grants, were not subject to surrender.¹⁴

It was surely no coincidence that Sir John's decision to send his two eldest sons to Carolina in 1726 marginally preceded the decision of the Proprietors in May 1727 to sell the Carolinas. Although the Seignory was settled and established, the southern Devil's Elbow Barony had only been in Colleton hands for nine years. It was within the area where the plans of the Agents for a defensive settlement, approved by the Assembly, had been overruled by the Proprietary. Sir John may have felt that a change to royal ownership for the province would make his title insecure unless his

¹⁴Act of George II, 1729, Cap. XXXIV. By 1729 Carteret, Craven and Colleton were the only owners of land still in the hands of descendants of the original Proprietors fifty-nine years after settlement.

Table 7
South Carolina Royal Council 1720-1763

| | Qualifications Number | | Estate and Loyalty 12 | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------|---|--------|---|
| | 18 PLANTERS | | 16 MERCHANTS | | 15 OTHERS |
| Wealth £ | W. Wragg | 36,000 | I. Holmes | 14,400 | 9 placemen |
| Average | | 9,022 | | 7,500 | 4 legal |
| Slaves | D. Blake | 756 | | | 1 misc. |
| Average | | 172 | | | 1 Prop. descent* |
| Acres | J. Blake | 29,085 | | | |
| Average | | 7,750 | | | |
| Inter-related families: most Carolina-born incl. Blakes, Bulls, Draytons, Izards, Middletons and Fenwicks. Most other Wraggs were merchants. | | | Strong English links: most arrived post 1700. | | *Hon. John Colleton served 1736-50 (d.) c. 300 slaves min. 25,000 acres |

*Sirmans' information for Hon. John (£4,892 wealth, 208 slaves and 17,343 acres) cannot include his brother Peter Colleton's bequest to him of 12,000 acres at Devil's Elbow before 1751 but within his survey dates. However, it may include land at Mulberry sold c. 1711 to Thomas Broughton. Sir John Colleton III was appointed to the Royal Council in 1764 just after the survey date.

Source: Extracted from information contained in M.E. Sirmans', 'The South Carolina Royal Council, 1720-1763': WMQ, Vol. XVIII (1961).

family could be seen to have a positive interest in its development. Sir John II's eldest son John built the mansion house of Fairlawn, near Monks Corner, on his grandfather's Seignory, and established an America based succession of Colletons.¹⁵ The second son Peter was to die childless before his elder brother and left him the Devil's Elbow Barony. This gave John the ownership of more land than any single Colleton before or since.¹⁶ Sir John II had made a positive decision that America offered the best opportunity for his children. With his withdrawal from Barbados in favour of his cousin, a failure to secure the Carolina investment would have involved the loss of all his assets outside England. He had no choice but to renew his family commitment to the province.

Shortly after these property adjustments the distinguished soldier, Colonel Thomas Garth, died in England. He was buried in the South Aisle of Westminster Abbey in 1731. His marriage to Elizabeth Colleton, who survived him for fifteen years, had been a union of great consequence for all three families with major roles in this dissertation.¹⁷ Their descendants switched inheritances between the three lines of Colleton

¹⁵As a Royal Councillor from 1736 he could then be differentiated as "the Hon. John". The Hon. John was to predecease his father by four years. Sir John I and at least ten of his male descendants from 1608 to 1800 failed to reach the age of sixty. The exceptions were Sir John II, who never lived abroad, and two male descendants of James Colleton who spent a large part of their lives in England.

The Hon. John bought 77 acres on the Cooper River at Charleston Neck called Exmouth after his father's home in England. The house he built was later called Bachelor's Hall and was sold by his son Sir John III to Governor Thomas Boone as his residence. He returned to England in 1730 or 1731 to marry Susannah Snell, a relation of his mother. His heir, later Sir John III, was born shortly afterwards, possibly in Devonshire. See Table 1, "CFSC", p. 327; CSPC 1735-6, Nos. 292, 360.

¹⁶He then owned c.28,000 acres, close to Joseph Blake's purported 29,000 acres. Peter left Epsom, an acquisition near Fairlawn, to his brother Robert, who had not joined his brothers in Carolina. Robert was made a Freeman of Exeter in 1739 and was probably intended to inherit Sir John II's Exeter property. On the death of his brother John's grandson in 1801, Robert's line inherited the baronetcy but lost the associated American property due to post-Independence sequestration. Robert is said, by J.L. Vivian, to have married the daughter of a James Colleton, whom I cannot identify, in 1748. She was possibly a collateral Devonshire cousin, but could not have been a daughter of Governor James. "CFSC", p. 327, Tables 1 and 7, p. 264; *Visitations*, p. 219.

¹⁷Colonel Thomas Garth was father of John Garth, M.P.; grandfather of Charles Garth, M.P., Agent for South Carolina, Charles Boone, M.P. and Thomas Boone, Governor of New Jersey and South Carolina. See Table 1.

descent to give appropriate benefit where it was most required. They ensured the continuance of an interest in America, Barbados and England through the male and female descendants of the first Sir John Colleton.¹⁸ The same year the heir to the junior branch of the Colletons, James Edward Colleton, married Lady Anne Cowper, daughter of Earl Cowper, a previous Lord Chancellor. James Edward's interests were no longer limited by the restrictions of Barbados but he had no apparent involvement with Carolina before his father's death in 1755.¹⁹ He would have been aware of Robert Johnson's well-prepared and successful candidature for the governorship. Johnson was to serve both Proprietary and the Crown in the same capacity and province, his previous administration illegally ended by Moore's rebellion of 1719. He was appointed by the Privy Council in December 1729.

Johnson's selection was contrary to the advice of the Proprietors, including Sir John II, on the apparently illogical grounds that he had a vested interest in 19,000 acres of South Carolina.²⁰ Johnson had worked out a Grand Plan to mark his governorship. It was not original and although sometimes attributed to him, the township plan owed its authorship to Joseph Boone and John Barnwell. Boone's submission of 1720 to the Board of Trade was Johnson's source of inspiration. He intended that poor Protestants should be given land and material aid in defended township areas.²¹ In return they would be expected to do guard duty. Johnson saw the new inhabitants providing a social balance between freemen and slavery. Six townships were established out of nine surveyed.

¹⁸This lasted in the case of Barbados for over 330 years, demonstrating the endurance of the affiliation despite commercial vicissitudes.

¹⁹James Edward bought the estate of Haines Hill, in Berkshire, before December 1755, when he first mentions the house in his father's account book which he continued to use. The earliest evidence of ownership is the farm accounts for 1738-45. James Edward probably bought Haines Hill as a suitable home for his bride some time between marriage in 1731 and 1738. He stood unsuccessfully for a seat in Parliament (Lyme Regis) in 1734, but won Lostwithiel, a traditional Kendall seat, in 1747. HHA, Books 16, s21.

²⁰This would have been considered a positive qualification in seventeenth century Barbados. CSPC, 1726-27, No. 739

²¹CSPC, 1730, No. 281, p. 141.

A restoration of bounty which Johnson was authorised to offer was too late to save the South Carolina naval stores industry, but rice planters, including the Colletons, benefited from permission for merchants to ship rice direct to Iberia. A surprising decision was the appointment of Johnson's brother-in-law Broughton, an unscrupulous Indian Trader since before the Yamasee Wars, as his Lieutenant-Governor. Like his predecessor, Johnson was fortunate to enjoy initial good luck with a welcome upswing in the economy. He first made arrangements to resolve the colony's debts and insisted on the Council's right to amend the Assembly's bills. His period of administration included Georgia's incorporation in 1732 as a Trust Colony for debtors. Furthermore, its promise as a defensive buffer zone encouraged the subscription of money, materials and advice from South Carolina. Although Johnson had a talent for organisation he did nothing to confirm the Proprietary's land patents for Baronies. His failure to appoint a comprehensive Land Commission to rectify anomalies and endorse Proprietors' holdings was not dealt with until much later, in 1755. The Colleton retention of their huge domain intact until Independence could only have been due to their personal commitment by settling in the colony and the maintenance of their quitrent payments.

On the death of Johnson in May 1735 the Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Broughton, succeeded him as Governor, a post for which he was considered unqualified for his flagrant abuse of Indian rights. The Assembly restored its denial of the Council's right to amend money bills. Interventions by Broughton, led to appeals by the merchants to the Board of Trade and suspension of a new issue of credit. His antagonism of the Assembly and Georgia upset the stability created by Johnson.²² Broughton's timely death in 1737 encouraged Oglethorpe of Georgia to intervene with Walpole to appoint Samuel Horsey as Governor of South Carolina and William Bull as his Lieutenant-Governor but Horsey died

²²William Bull's son William Bull, Jnr., was Speaker from 1740-42 and later Lieutenant-Governor. He became Acting Governor again on the retirement of Thomas Boone in 1764.

before sailing. William Bull, planter, historian, musician, gardener and botanist, took over the Governorship during a five year delay until December 1743 while James Glen made up his mind to leave England and exercise his commission.²³ Bull restored the good order of Johnson's administration.²⁴ The merchant lobby once again demonstrated the strength of its links with London traders and their influence on the home government by securing Board of Trade approval to South Carolina's resumption of Indian trade with Georgia. Bull dealt emphatically with the Stono River slave rebellion, prepared the colony to meet the threat of a Spanish attack and resolved the constitutional issue of Assembly rights. By the settlement of December 1739, the Royal Council, which included the Hon. John Colleton, agreed in another important precedent that it only had the right to accept or reject money bills and *suggest* amendments.

When Governor Glen at last arrived in 1743 all the outstanding issues had been resolved by the capable and diplomatic William Bull except land registration. The colony was enjoying peace for the first time since 1712. A new Quitrent Act of 1744, covering the anomalies of royal land claims, enforced registration of conveyances and increased revenue by a third. By mid-century the Council, though dominated by the majority of planter and merchant wealth in the colony, could not resist the determination of the Assembly to control money bills.²⁵ Glen on his own could not defend his authority. His powers were already circumscribed by the Board of Trade. This did not alter his determination to make a lasting compact with the

²³CSC, p. 198.

²⁴The prosperous economy of South Carolina encouraged further investment by the Hon. John. Perhaps to provide a town house while attending the Council, to which he had just been appointed, he bought 35 acres in Berkeley County which may have been part of the Exmouth tract on the Cooper River, north of Charleston, later sold by his son to provide a residence for Governor Thomas Boone. He was also granted 289 acres, followed by 126 more in July 1738, on the Santee River; in all an additional 450 acres. "CFSC", pp. 335-7.

²⁵It took until 1763, during Boone's final months in South Carolina, to achieve the first meeting of the Continental Alliance in Augusta. See CSC, pp. 288-9; Jack P. Greene, *Quest for Power*, pp. 316-9, 324 and page 269 below.

Indians and to promote a Continental Alliance between the colonies and the indigenous tribes.²⁶

In 1746, with the resolution of land title irregularity by the Quitrent Act, the Hon. John was able to visit his father at Rill Manor, Exmouth.²⁷ He probably also took young John, who became heir to his grandfather's baronetcy and a Royal Councillor of South Carolina, then aged 15.²⁸ Governor Glen had every reason to be concerned at Colleton's absence from Council meetings when its powers were under attack from the Assembly and complained of his absence to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.²⁹ In October 1747, almost a year later, John advised that he would return by "the first safe conveyance".³⁰ Glen needed urgently the assistance of every member of the Council. In the last years of his governorship the erosion of his delegated authority by the Privy Council

²⁶See Sirmans, CSC, pp. 285-6, 294, Jack P. Greene, *Quest for Power* (Chapel Hill: University of N. Carolina Press, 1963) pp. 5, 37, 53, for a full account

²⁷The Hon. John on this visit or a previous one must have supplied a *Magnolia Grandiflora Lanceolata* to his father and probably also to his second cousin James Edward Colleton of Haines Hill where it survived for over 200 years. The *Magnolia*, renamed after the town, is now part of the arms of Exmouth.

Sir John Colleton (of Rill Manor) has a garden full of curious plants chiefly from America, where he has a son settled. He has the magnolia or lawrel-leav'd tulip in blossom, and also the Carolina sword blade aloe; he has also the trumpet tree, the Carolina raspberry tree, the anemony tree, and Carolina kidney bean tree, the artichoke or orange myrtle, the flowers of which are in clusters and of a reddish cast, a beautiful turn cap'd Carolina martagon, which is red and white, the motle-leav'd tulip tree, which seems to be only the occidental plane-tree, the serpentine euphorbium, the coat of which resembles the scales of a serpent, but it is very much raised.

J.J. Cartwright, ed., *Travels Through England of Dr Richard Pococke, 1750-1 and later years*, 2 Vols, (Westminster, 1888-9), I, p. 102.

1746 was also the year that Elizabeth Garth, daughter of Landgrave Thomas Colleton, died in England. She was buried in the same grave as her infant son in the East Cloister of Westminster Abbey. Another son who had died in infancy was reinterred to accompany her. *Westminster Abbey Register*, see under Garth.

²⁸The patriarch of the Colletons, Sir John II, was buried at Withycombe Raleigh, near Exmouth, in 1754. His grandson Sir John III inherited the baronetcy. *Visitations*, p. 219.

²⁹JTP, 1742-49, Vol. 8, pp. 219-220, 222.

³⁰He died in Carolina in 1750. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

and the ascendancy of the Assembly decided the Commons House to concentrate its attack the powers of the Royal Council. Its success enabled it to remain the dominant element of provincial government until independence.

Chapter 11

The Defeat of Governor Thomas Boone

This chapter discusses the clash between Governor Boone and the Assembly following his rigid interpretation of electoral law which he pursued as a matter of misguided principle or cussedness. His governorship exacerbated differences between the colony and the government at a time of sensitive relations. South Carolina had become a fast-maturing province determined to exercise a degree of self-reliance beyond the bounds intended by the Mother Country. The final contributions of the Colleton family to the political history of Carolina were shortly to be made by two first cousins, great-great-grandsons of Sir John Colleton I. Both were men of ability. Charles Garth laboured for long hours to avoid dissension while Thomas Boone provoked it.¹

In 1756, before Governor Glen could achieve his ambition for a Grand Alliance between the American colonies and the Indian tribes, he was recalled by the Privy Council. Thomas Boone, one of Glen's successors, settled in South Carolina in 1752 on the death of his uncle Joseph Boone's widow. At the age of twenty-two he inherited a half-share of Boone's Barony on the Edisto river and assumed control of the plantations until 1754, at the end of Glen's governorship.² Boone took the side of the government in disputes between the Council and the Assembly, "the former (the Council) strenuously withstanding the repeated encroachments of popular power", although he was a member of neither.³

¹The careers of Thomas Boone and Charles Garth overlapped. They had an interactive political dialogue in the early 1760s during Boone's governorship. A decision had to be made whether this aspect should be dealt with in the short Boone biography or the relatively long Garth chapter. It is less disruptive to take the latter course. This will explain why the circumstances of the petition from the Assembly and Boone's defence of his actions are absent from Chapter 11.

²Most of the property was Ann Boone's dowry from her mother Rebecca Axtell. Thomas Boone was not given his brother's half-share until 1764. Sirmans' timing was wrong. Charles Garth, Thomas Boone's first cousin, went to the Inner Temple the year Thomas left for South Carolina and was called to the Bar in 1756. See CSC, p. 346; PRO AO 13/125, f. 80; "Charles Garth", p. 462.

³*Ibid.*

He witnessed Glen's loss of authority in his conflict with the Assembly and learned that lack of resolve had one humbling consequence. He was prepared to oppose a similar challenge when his own authority came under attack. He was forewarned of the effects of irresolution at an impressionable age, in the colony he was soon to govern. He had the self-confidence of the son of a Governor of Bombay and background of the colonial establishment. His father died when he was five which may account for his self-reliant behaviour. He was brought up by his Garth mother in the traditions of the colonial elite.⁴ After Eton, his mature education was at Trinity College, Cambridge.⁵ He benefited from the reputation of his uncle Joseph whose agency successes in the cause of Carolina gave him a special recommendation and acceptance in the colony. Boone returned for a four year visit to England, before the conflict with France in India and North America, in May 1756.

Glen's relief was William Lyttleton, brother of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He arrived in May 1756, temporarily halted the Assembly's confrontation with the Council and secured the dismissal of Councillor William Wragg who had sustained it. Wragg's election to the Assembly reinforced its prestige and lost the Crown its main support. A new breed of politicians, including Christopher Gadsden and Henry Laurens, who became one of the colony's largest traders, entered the Assembly and remained among its leaders until the revolution. The "Gadsden affair" later ended Thomas Boone's governorship. Laurens was to become a member of the Assembly's Committee of Correspondence which gave him personal contact with their Agent in England, Charles Garth.⁶ Attitudes fostered by the new generation of Commons representative were becoming entrenched. Without the full comprehension of the Privy Council, most of the colonies had developed a perception of their status and a constitutional sophistication beyond that acceptable to the imperial

⁴His mother was the daughter of Elizabeth Garth (nee Colleton), granddaughter of Landgrave Thomas Colleton. See Table 1.

⁵"Charles Garth", p. 462.

⁶*Ibid.*

power. During the French and Indian wars the Crown resumed a dominant authority in the colonies under threat of a French invasion. The success of Wolfe at Quebec reinforced imperial self-confidence but also ministerial dismay that the colonies were unwilling to share the burden of imposed defence costs. To strengthen defences in the south Montgomerie's Highland Battalion was posted to Carolina. The right rather than the need of the military authorities to commandeer billets for Montgomerie under the Mutiny Act caused deep and continuing resentment in the colony until the revolution. In early 1760 during an unnecessary Cherokee war, largely due to Lyttleton's diplomatic errors, the Governor was promoted to Jamaica. Until a replacement arrived William Bull, Jnr. again took office. The contested issues of taxation and the authority of Representatives could no longer be put aside. The Assembly hoped for a compatible successor to Lyttleton, able to accede or compromise. They were sent a man of inflexible resolve.

In 1758 Thomas Boone returned from England to his Edisto plantations.⁷ As a result of successful lobbying to promote his career, he was summoned from South Carolina to be Governor of New Jersey, aged twenty-nine, at the time of the Quebec expedition against the French. French troops threatened the northern approach to New York, one of the two pincer movements anticipated by Agents Beresford and Joseph Boone, which had the potential to contain and reduce the British colonies in North America. During Joseph Boone's agency, forty years earlier, his emphatic and repeated warnings of French intentions had been given to a responsive government. New Jersey flanked the Hudson and access to New York, the key to the Northern colonies and New England. Boone arrived in New Jersey from South Carolina in November 1759, four months after Wolfe's victory and death.

⁷Namier infers that Boone may have married Sarah Ann Perroneau (nee Tattnell) at this time but could not determine the exact date. She married Samuel Perroneau on 17 January 1758 and was not free to marry Boone until after her husband's death on 17 October 1768. See "Charles Garth", p. 462; *Laurens' Papers*, Vol IX, p. 228n.

Boone's appointment to his first government post must have owed something to patronage. His uncle John Garth was M.P. for Devizes, his half-brother Daniel Boone was in the House from 1734 to 1761, after serving as Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, then Clerk to his widow, the Princess; his brother Charles Boone had been a Member of Parliament since 1757 and his cousin James Edward Colleton since 1747.⁸ Perhaps none of these people were sufficiently influential to secure a governorship on their own initiative, but as a group with American affiliations concerned with the American interest they may have used some combination of their influence to oblige the widow of Governor Boone and her younger son.⁹ In March 1761, after an uneventful period of office in New Jersey, Thomas Boone was called to fill the vacancy in South Carolina, when Britain had just achieved military superiority on the American continent.¹⁰ Boone's governorship in New Jersey earned him the appreciation of its House of Representatives. "such an administration as yours demands our grateful acknowledgements".¹¹

On 16 April 1761 the Secretary of the Committee for Trade and Plantations was asked by Charles Boone, Member of Parliament and a supporter of William Pitt, to grant leave to his brother Thomas for a visit home from New Jersey. Thomas wished to have twelve months to deal with private affairs before taking up the governorship of South Carolina.¹² This request may have been partly connected with his brother's forthcoming marriage to the "fat" heiress Theodosia Crowley granddaughter of a North Country Ironmaster and Lord Mayor of London,

⁸In 1754 James Edward had married his second wife, Francis Jennings, and his father, John Colleton, who had left Barbados in 1723, died in 1755 aged 72, probably in London. John left the Barbados property to his elder son James Edward, his plantations in South Carolina to his younger son John, an annuity and his house in New Bond Street to his wife.

⁹"Charles Garth", p. 463.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*New Jersey Archives*, Vol IX, p. 234-5n. (Incomplete citation is from Namier, "Charles Garth", p. 463n)

¹²*JTP*, 1759-63, p. 189, 17 April 1761.

Sir Ambrose Crowley, M.P., who had retired to Barking Hall, Suffolk.¹³ Charles was to marry her on 22 October 1762 but Thomas deferred his visit to England and did not attend the wedding. He continued his handling of affairs in New Jersey and after receiving approval for leave gave unctuous reasons for remaining.¹⁴ Before departing for his new post he had some brief dealings with Benjamin Franklin.¹⁵ Boone eventually arrived in Charleston on 22 December 1761 but at the considerable expense of privately hiring a merchantman to get there. He had been in the colony on two previous occasions, both in adulthood, totalling just four years residence.¹⁶

The Council and Assembly declared "they knew of no gentleman they would have preferred for their governor".¹⁷ Boone arrived auspiciously with gifts, prepared to seal the long family relationship with the colony. He came as an Anglican, having shed the Dissenter tradition of his paternal family. He emphasised his religious allegiance by establishing his Governor's pew in Protestant St Michael's Church to which he gave in 1762 a beautiful set of engraved communion silver by Mordecai Fox.¹⁸ He

¹³Theodosia was then aged 37, Charles 34. The uncomplimentary remark was made by Horace Walpole. *HP:HC*, 1754-90, Vol II, p. 101; "Charles Garth", p. 460.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 464; PRO CO 5/378, p. 29.

¹⁵A letter was forwarded to the Committee of Trade on 29 April 1761 containing Benjamin Franklin's comments on route alterations to the New Jersey post requested by Boone. Franklin was then Deputy Postmaster General in North America, one of the early inter-colony appointments. *JTP*, 1759-1763, pp. 193, 194, and "Charles Garth", p. 464.

¹⁶Curiously, M.E. Sirmans cites Jack P. Greene in attributing Boone as a "native son". Boone was hardly such, nor does Greene claim that he was, calling him "a former resident". Greene does make the error of marrying Boone to Sarah Tattnall before the end of 1759. Had this been correct it would negate Sirmans' citation of Berry's hypothesis, that Boone's resentment at Assembly members' treatment of his mistress Sarah Perroneau provoked his challenge to the Election Act of 1721. See Sirmans, *CSC*, p. 351n; Jack P. Greene, "The Gadsden Election Controversy and the Revolutionary Movement in South Carolina", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLVI (1959), p. 470.

¹⁷"Charles Garth", p. 463.

¹⁸This was purloined in the war between the States, but one wine flagon and one paten have since been recovered and returned to the church (see page 204n above). *Ibid.*, p. 471.(contd. over)

arrived with a high reputation in an aura of benevolence and promise. The climate was to change with great rapidity. The cause of his aggravation has not been adequately explained. His determination to challenge the authority of the Assembly is unlikely to have occurred so precipitately from a state of harmony without compelling motivation. It may be that an insult to his mistress was the provocation but no authoritative confirmation or reason for an inflexible confrontation has survived the event.

Boone established himself in a suitable Charleston residence, buying the 77-acre Exmouth estate at Charleston Neck, on the Cooper River, from his third cousin Sir John Colleton III.¹⁹ He was soon confronted with a backlog of unresolved problems deferred by the Cherokee war, particularly the perennial struggle of the Assembly for constitutional supremacy over the Council and Governor. The Cherokee peace treaty had been ratified, ending Carolina's major role in the contest before the formal conclusion of the French and Indian wars in 1763. South Carolina's provincial regiment was disbanded but the British Commander in Chief, Amherst, had impressed on Boone the need for continental defence. Boone's efforts to obtain financial compensation for the colony's defence expenditure on the Cherokee rising were almost entirely abortive on the grounds that his submission failed to meet the qualifying criteria, in spite of the relief which South Carolina's participation had given to neighbouring colonies. Compensation for war expenditure was made conditional on meeting recruitment quotas to which South Carolina fell far short.²⁰ The cost of the war greatly increased the provincial debt and taxes. The failure of the Treasury to provide a reasonable contribution towards the cost of her burden and South Carolina's shortfall in

Some of the interior panelling of the church was provided from Wadboo by his second cousin, Colonel John Colleton. Colleton's widow left Mepshoo to Governor Thomas Boone in 1779. See PRO AO. 13/125, f. 77.

¹⁹It became known as 'Bachelor's Hall' and was situated south of Magnolia Cemetery, north of the Magazine buildings. (1900 description in "CFSC", p. 337)

²⁰See letters from Lord Egremont and General Amherst to Governor Boone, 1761-62, Petworth House Archives, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester: HMC 163, ff. 22-29, 49-50, 115-116, 162-163, 172, 188-194, 278.

recruitment created mutual feelings of resentment. Boone and Charles Garth, under instructions from the Assembly, petitioned the Treasury for a relaxation of the rule for a minimum qualifying level of recruitment. Governor and Agent included in their claim reimbursement for the Cherokee war and frontier defence costs but excluded the colony's own responsibility for coastal defence. The bounty actually received credited only the fifty-seven men enlisted in Carolina during 1762. Nevertheless Boone's exertions on behalf of the colony were generously acknowledged by Christopher Gadsden after his electoral disqualification in January 1763. There were no doubts about Boone's inherent ability, "indefatigable he has been in his endeavours even through his private friends to obtain this very bounty."²¹

In February 1762 Boone achieved the passage of a bill to establish a public monopoly to promote peaceable trade with the Cherokees. This was to be conducted through Fort Prince George, in the north west corner of the colony. The Assembly favoured a standardised system of trade regulation for all the southern colonies but Agent Garth did not obtain Board of Trade acceptance of their proposals until after Boone's departure. Boone's request that the Treasury should finance diplomacy with the Indians met with more immediate success and John Stuart, his own nominee, was appointed Indian Superintendent by the Crown with lasting benefit to the colony.

Boone's final attempt to promote legislation, before the storm over the 1721 Election Act, revealed the first manifestations of aggravation between Governor and Assembly. Annoyed at the black market trade between merchants and the French colonies before the official peace treaty, Boone could only secure from the Assembly an ineffectual and inappropriate Act of regulation. He was quick to imply that the Assembly, consequently, were protecting illegal traders. This tilt at their

²¹One of his "private friends" was his brother Charles Boone, who appealed for proper coastal defences and remission of war expenses. He may have been instrumental in the Admiralty providing two 20-gun ships off South Carolina and Georgia. See "Charles Garth", p. 464, for quotation, and GLB, I, pp. 8, 9, 26.

equilibrium was minor compared with his next move. Like James Colleton, Boone lacked perception of the consequence of his decisions. He was apparently unable to foresee the reaction to a rigid application of the election law. Riled by the Assembly's refusal to consider his suggestions for needy amendments to the current Election Act, he determined to demonstrate its faults and challenge their right to validate elections to their House. The evidence is inadequate to do more than guess at his motive and the reason for the sudden change of climate. If the supposition is correct that a flashpoint was reached when Assemblymen and their wives snubbed his mistress, more valid reasons could be found for previous governors to have confronted their elected House of Representatives. His provocation may have been repeated or unreasonable.

Boone waited six months after the rejection of his proposals of March 1762 to amend the Election Act. In November his opportunity came to challenge the Assembly. He refused to administer the oath of office to Christopher Gadsden after election to St Paul's Parish on the grounds that the churchwardens had filled out his return improperly. Boone was not in a position to invalidate the whole election proceedings and took the extreme course of dissolving the Assembly. To avoid delaying business, he issued writs for a new House to be returnable before the end of the current adjournment. His actions challenged the Assembly's right to approve their own elections, a common practice in Britain and in the colonies. He insisted that the Assembly existed solely as a result of the 1721 Election Act, thereby implying that colonial rights were granted by the Crown and could be varied only by the Crown. Boone declared that he was astonished how the Assembly had endeavoured to dispense with an Act of Assembly "to a rigid execution of which your body owes, or ought to owe its existence." He had often thought the Act deficient. However:

The writ you inclined to give validity to was presented to me without a return by an officer of my own (who) confessed he had not been sworn Was I to pass over this violation In order therefore to manifest in as publick a manner as I can my disavowal of so undeniable an infraction of the election

act, I do hereby dissolve this present General Assembly, and it is dissolved accordingly.²²

The new Assembly met in November 1762 and, in defence of its rights, commissioned its committee on privileges and elections to report on the events. They denied Boone's claims, insisting that the right of representation was founded on the constitution of the mother country and their exclusive right of approval. One of several resolutions passed at the meeting of 3 December to adopt the committee's report condemned his dissolution of the last Assembly as a

most precipitate, unadvised,unprecedented procedure of the most dangerous consequence (having) a manifold tendency to subvert and destroy the most essential invaluable rights of the People (It would reduce their position) to an abject dependence on and subservience to the will and opinion of a Governor.²³

In demonstrating their anger the House used exaggerated terms. To provide publicity they inflamed the situation by printing the committee's report in the South Carolina Gazette and the Governor used the same means for his reply. On 16 December 1762 the Assembly resolved not to enter into further business with the Governor until he had done justice to the House in view of his denial of their right to examine the validity of their elections and his slights to their "repeated and necessary remonstrances".²⁴ Except for a brief meeting in September 1763 to discuss an Indian threat it was to be the last meeting of the Assembly during Boone's governorship. Speaker Lowndes concluded in a later account of events that had the Governor acted in accordance with his commission "this dreadful evil would not have happened".²⁵ The King was asked to consider the memorial of the Assembly "and give such relief as to your Royal Wisdom shall seem fit".

²²Hardwicke MSS, BM Add. MSS 35910, ff. 233-239.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.* Lowndes became the second governor after statehood.

The use of the Press by the Assembly and Governor was an invitation for essayists to air their views in the same medium. Christopher Gadsden, who had acted as spokesman in his own case in the House, was perhaps the first correspondent to suggest that a sole agent should be appointed on behalf of all American colonies to protect their constitutional rights as British citizens. Boone was sensitive to the attacks on his administration and imposed censorship on newspapers reporting matters injurious to the Government of South Carolina.²⁶ Boone's account of events and defence of his actions carried no weight with the Board of Trade, who considered dissolution of the Assembly justified. As early as April 1763 they informed Garth that Boone had been sent leave to return home.²⁷

Poor opinions of Boone were not confined to members of the Assembly, as a contemporary letter from South Carolina by an unknown writer reveals:

My dear Doctor,

So much for the politics of England, now for those of Carolina. Be it known to you then that your Governor is not considered here in that high point of view his judgement and discretion which his own sentiments and the few votaries he has in Carolina have placed him. He is blamed for his dispute with the Assembly concerning the interpretation of the election laws, his proceedings in that matter and interfering in the matter of elections being an imprudent attempt to extend the prerogative beyond whatever the Crown intended.²⁸

On 13 September 1763 the Assembly approved a petition to the Crown on the basis of the report by their Committee of Privileges and Elections. The Privy Council decided to defer consideration of the case until Boone's response to the petition and his own return to England. Although he intended to return, he delayed doing so until May 1764 when he realised

²⁶CSC, p. 354.

²⁷Garth to CCSC, 30 April 1763, GLB, I, p. 58.

²⁸Scottish Record Office, Murrythwalte Muniments, GD. 219, 1747-63, undated. (Contemporary events in the letter date it as 1762 or 1763.)

his attempts to restore a normal relationship had been rejected decisively and irrevocably.

Boone had tried to convene the Assembly in March and April 1763 but failed to achieve a quorum. At the same time he was responsible for a new dispute with Georgia by audaciously inviting applications for land within the extant 1665 charter boundaries but south of the Altamaha River, the 1732 southern border of the new colony. Within a month and without Crown authority, Boone had approved the allocation of half a million acres, to the fury of Governor Wright of Georgia. The pressing needs of new settlers had encouraged Boone to make grants of new land.²⁹ His Council suspended action on the claims due to doubt about Indian title to the land. However, despite their censure, the Board of Trade took no action to rescind titles already granted. On 24 August 1763 Garth advised the Committee that the Lords Commissioners for Trade hoped

the annexing of the Territory to the Province of Georgia will meet with the cheerful acquiescence of His Majesty's dutiful subjects of South Carolina.

The opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General was that Boone's grants "have been legally and properly made up by the Government of South Carolina."³⁰

Boone made a further unsuccessful attempt to seat the Assembly in August 1763. The following month a quorum was achieved by an invitation to discuss the threat of an Indian attack. After delivering a strong appeal for support, Boone dealt with the swearing in of new Assembly members.

²⁹Garth wrote to his Committee on 29 June 1763 that Boone's action "breaks in upon our intended scheme of government (which yet remains in doubt, if to take place or not)". Some form of sponsored expansion southwards may have been in mind. He advised the Committee on 30 April 1763 that following agreement on the Fountainbleau treaty "there is to be an addition of territory on the south side of Georgia. I apprehend that tract of land has never been settled by either Great Britain or Spain but is now to be under the jurisdiction of Georgia".

One of the grantees was Henry Laurens. One thousand fellow French Protestants from the same roots, knowledgeable about wine and silk cultivation, wished to settle there from Bordeaux. *GLB*, I, pp. 71, 73.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

One of these was Boone's third cousin Sir John Colleton III. Two previously qualified members normally accompanied newcomers for the administration of the governor's oath. With surprising insensitivity and possibly deliberate provocation, the Speaker nominated Christopher Gadsden as one of the witnesses. The Governor denied them entry to the ceremony. The resentment caused to the Assembly was of their own making, but less heinous than Boone's further provocation a week later by his refusal to administer the oath to other new members until he had checked their credentials.³¹ Almost the only success of Boone's administration came at the end of his period of office. Stuart, his Indian administrator, set up a meeting of the four southern royal governors with representatives of the five Indian nations. The meeting was held in Augusta, Georgia, on 5 November 1763 and a treaty was achieved in five days which introduced English goods, a recognition of wider colony boundaries and the first prospect of long-term racial peace.

It is hardly surprising that Boone failed to muster the new Assembly before his departure. During his attempts to reconvene it, Boone gave further proof of his unchanged attitude of unbending, intolerant officiousness which made rapprochement impossible. He left few friends in Carolina but even Christopher Gadsden, the contentious, impetuous, radical had admired Boone's dedication to the interests of South Carolina.³²

Numbers of facts demonstrate it; our agent's (Charles Garth) letters manifest how early and indefatigable he has been It must give every thinking man the greatest concern to find they are obliged to differ with a gentleman that has shown himself so willing to serve the Province.³³

Francis Kinloch thought highly enough of Boone to send his sons Francis and Cleland to be wards in England of the ex-Governor. Henry Laurens also sought Boone's advice over the education of his later famous son John

³¹Jack P. Greene, "Gadsden Election Controversy", pp. 484-5.

³²See E.S. Godbold and R.H. Wood, *Christopher Gadsden and the American Revolution*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982), p. 3.

³³"Charles Garth", p. 464.

and sent him to the same tutor as Francis in Geneva.³⁴ Other friendly associations were few. Boone left Charleston for England on 11 May 1764, euphemistically "on leave", accompanied by his mistress Sarah.³⁵

The clash with the Assembly leaves many questions unanswered. Boone embarked on a deliberate and provocative collision course with the House. Despite weak justification he repeatedly renewed the causes of objection to his administration regardless of other issues. He brought to boiling point the ninety year struggle of the Assembly for constitutional determination and rehearsed South Carolina's objections to the inflexibility of government. His motivation is of particular interest, whether he felt a pressing need to restore the lost authority of governors and the Crown, a compulsion to reverse the submissive attitude of Glen's administration which he witnessed during his first years in Carolina or a less worthy desire to achieve vindictive retaliation for slights upon his mistress.³⁶ The outcome was the first occasion on which the Assembly of South Carolina had won Crown recognition of its position in a constitutional issue. His case was heard by the Privy Council on 13 July 1764. His conduct was found to be highly deserving of His Majesty's royal

³⁴The Kinloch family and their relations were prominent in revolutionary and post-independence Carolina. The close links between prominent American and British families are demonstrated in Appendix P.

Henry Laurens was the son of a French Protestant settler. He became one of the principal merchants of Carolina and a leader of the revolutionary movement. He bought the 3,000 acre estate of Mepkin in 1762 from Colonel John Colleton, Colonel of Foot Guards, grandson of Governor James Colleton. The estate flanked the east bank of the Cooper River opposite Mepshoo which was left by Colonel Colleton's widow to Thomas Boone in 1779 but he never enjoyed its ownership. Laurens died at Mepkin in 1792. He was the father of Washington's ADC and signatory to the preliminary Peace Treaty of 1782. *Laurens Papers*, Vol. V, pp. XXXI-XXXII.

³⁵Samuel Perroneau died on 17 October 1768. His widow married Thomas Boone after the news reached England. Lee Place, Lewisham, inherited by his brother Charles, became their home. It was not his "paternal" home as described by Namler, "Charles Garth", p. 470. See *Laurens Papers*, Vol IX, p. 228.

³⁶Boone continued to be sensitive about the status of his wife after marriage. Henry Laurens wrote to his son from London on 17 January 1774.

I don't visit Mr Boone, he was polite to me at my first arrival, I believe I omitted an enquiry after Mrs Boone, either not knowing or thinking of their marriage and may have given offence.

Laurens Papers, Vol. IX, p. 228.

displeasure but the Assembly were strongly criticised for refusing to transact the colony's business. Boone decided to appeal but the verdict was upheld on 27 July by the Council. He accepted that he would never return to South Carolina as Governor.³⁷ At the time of the hearings, when his future and a return to Carolina were in jeopardy, his brother Charles made over to Thomas his half-share in Boone's Barony. He acquired full ownership in July 1764 at the least propitious moment in his career with limited prospects of a return to resume its management in a private capacity.³⁸

There were similarities between the governorships of Thomas Boone and his great-great-uncle, James Colleton. They shared characteristics of determination and insensitivity, potentially a disastrous mixture. They both suspended the Carolina House of Assembly. James Colleton's purpose was to restore the authority of the Proprietary after its erosion by the Goose Creek faction; Thomas Boone's was to restore and impose the authority of governorship over the increasing power of the Assembly. He chose as his battleground the application of the loosely-drafted 1721 Election Act and Christopher Gadsden's election in particular. Boone may have been prompted by his earlier memories of Governor Glen's weakening position, undermined by the Commons House, or possibly vindictive revenge for a personal slight.³⁹ Colleton and Boone both showed inflexibility in dealing with relatively insignificant matters. Over-reaction brought their downfall. They both ended their administrations as *persona non grata* with the majority of Assembly members. Both enjoyed

³⁷In 1764 after Boone's departure from Carolina his cousin Sir John Colleton III and Henry Laurens were both appointed Royal Councillors. Laurens refused to accept. *Laurens Papers*, Vol IV, p. 467, 476.

³⁸This was six months before Charles Boone's first wife died (Theodosia Crowley), leaving him a very rich man.

³⁹M.E. Sirmans refers to Richard Barry's hypothesis in his book on Rutledge that Boone resented the action of Assembly leaders and their wives in snubbing his mistress Sarah Perroneau (nee Tattnall). Berry has implied that confrontation with the Assembly may have been a consequence. Berry also refers to a wife and two children of Thomas Boone. I have no evidence from HHA or other sources that Thomas Boone was married before his liaison and marriage with Sarah Perroneau, or of any children other than by her, the first born in 1768. CSC, p. 351; *Mr Rutledge of South Carolina* (New York, 1942), p. 84-86.

a limited role as consultants to their previous employers after their administrations had ended. As a precedent, but for different reasons, Governor Thomas Kendall of Barbados had also insisted on compliance with election law and refused to admit new members to the Assembly in 1692 for failing to produce certificates of qualification as communicants. A potential constitutional impasse had been resolved on that occasion by Sir Peter Colleton in London successfully petitioning for the repeal of the Barbados 1692 Election Act as incompatible with the laws of England. Boone, determined to enforce compliance, had no wish for a similar face-saving formula.

Both James Colleton and Boone displayed "more zeal than prudence", the words used in the findings of the Board of Trade inquiry into the events of 1762. Boone was said by the Board to have been "actuated by a degree of passion and resentment inconsistent with good policy and unsuited to the dignity of his situation".⁴⁰ The events of 1762 and 1763 "helped to set the stage for the revolutionary movement in South Carolina."⁴¹ James Colleton and Thomas Boone especially, failed to maintain the cohesion of the province. Boone made a negative contribution towards the dedicated and constructive work of many of his Boone and Colleton predecessors. It was not the first time the Assembly had achieved the dismissal of a governor.

Boone's two successors had little chance of correcting the balance of power once the initiative had been lost through his default. An extreme view would be that the Assembly had deliberately provoked the confrontation. From the Assembly's view point the Governor was an ideal but unpremeditated victim. After a convivial start to his governorship the stubborn and reactive Boone had adopted, fortuitously, an indefensible opposition to a Commons House determined upon the sole exercise of its representative franchise. Garth later tried to moderate its accomplishment by tolerance and reason. The attitude of the Assembly to

⁴⁰JTP, 1764-67, pp. 99-100.

⁴¹The building of the same stage had been completed by Glen. Jack P. Greene, *Quest for Power*, p. 197; Chapter 10 above.

Boone was unbending. His brief period of governorship had little of the merit of Garth's future agency career in the service of the province. The Governor reflected the more rigid characteristics of home government, Garth the views of its liberal parliamentarians. Enhanced by the conflict, South Carolina became a vocal, determined and leading champion of representative privilege.

PART 6

The Breakdown of Relations with the Home Government (1764-1775)

Chapter 12 - The Agency of Charles Garth

Chapter 12

The Agency of Charles Garth

It is not intended to deploy a new argument about the political issues leading to the War of Independence, but to see the events through the eyes of Charles Garth and his wife. Following successful opposition to the Stamp Act, there was an evident build-up in America of objection and increasing resistance by the Assemblies to administration measures. Repeal gave impetus to a variety of attempts to secure local enactment and regulation of matters previously handled by the Crown. Some feeling of this change of climate can be detected in Garth's letters. The sense of achievement in the Colonies is illustrated, trivially, by the sudden demand for statues of William Pitt. After repeal Garth was unprepared for the resentment caused by new duties to recover defence costs. He treated colonial contribution to common obligations as neither exceptional nor undesirable. In this instance he gave precautionary information, nothing more. His usual style was to anticipate opposition to new policies and then build a case in preparation for the objections of his Committee. The climax to the build-up of resentment found him a little off-balance. The implementation of policy required a measure of willing acceptance by colonial Assemblies. In more hostile circumstances the distant relationship between Agent and Assembly required a high degree of mutual confidence to be successful. The Committee of Correspondence had to allow an Agent discretion to react to events when it was impossible for him to receive instructions in time. Garth anticipated his likely priorities as soon as he was appointed. The time factor meant that it could be several months before his preparatory work could be confirmed. A difference of opinion was sometimes communicated after the moment had passed but the degree of unanimity and accord during the first six years of Garth's appointment was remarkable. He was in a position to exercise some influence on public opinion at home, especially after election to Parliament, and to a larger degree in South Carolina, by conditioning their reaction. After the debate on the King's Speech in November 1768 Garth showed his first signs of despair for the future. He maintained his flow of letters but there was a reduction in the content from 1769 onwards. No issues of great importance disturbed a lull in

public affairs in South Carolina from the end of 1768 until the constitutional crisis over money votes and the dissolution of the South Carolina House of Assembly in 1771. From that point the affairs of South Carolina led inexorably to the end of colonial rule and Garth's agency. His tone became formal and advisory from April 1775. His last communication to his committee was on 27 May 1775, seven weeks after the Battle of Lexington of which he was then in ignorance.

South Carolina was to provide a large number of revolutionary leaders. Representing the interests of its constituents stretched the loyalty of Charles Garth to his patriot employers until its continuation became impossible. Garth and his cousins remained firm in their association with the New World short of active disloyalty to their mother country. Their consciences demanded opposition to the Stamp Act but not support for the insurrections of 1775. Their historical, sentimental and commercial ties found most of them siding with America and employing their votes in Parliament on its behalf almost until the outbreak of hostilities. Garth was the sixth and last member of his family to commit himself to a political career on behalf of South Carolina, a connection lasting the full one hundred and twelve years of the pre-revolutionary period. He died after expending nearly all his working life, energy and health on its behalf, his salary unpaid as a protest against Britain's monetary policy, and his wife in penury.

Out of a total of thirty-eight North American Agents during the twenty years before the War of Independence, Garth served third longest. Joseph Boone, his aunt's brother-in-law, was the second Agent, Garth was the last. He served the South Carolina Assembly from 1762 to 1775, the Maryland Assembly from 1767 to 1775, Georgia as Crown Agent from 1763 to 1765 and Assembly Agent from then until August 1768 when he was succeeded by Benjamin Franklin. During his terms of office Garth was one of those who "added immeasurably" to the "corporate effectiveness" of the body of Agents.¹ He graduated from Merton College, Oxford, in 1752.

¹See Michael G. Kammen, *A Rope of Sand*, pp. 20-21.

He was called to the Bar from the Inner Temple in 1756 and became the consistent colleague of Edward Montagu, barrister from the Middle Temple and Agent for Virginia from 1761 to 1772. Garth's switch from pursuit of a government office to colonial Agent may have owed something to Montagu's own agency appointment as well as the sponsorship of Charles Boone, MP.

Garth's father John was also a barrister, a son of Colonel Thomas Garth whose marriage had linked the Garths to the Colletons and a grandson of Landgrave Thomas Colleton of Barbados. He was parliamentary member from 1740 to 1764 and Recorder of Devizes.² He supported the Duke of Newcastle's interest in the House and continued the family tradition of attachment to the old Whig cause but without reward for his loyalty. Towards the end of his career John Garth wrote constantly to the Duke to seek office for his son Charles. He "had been born and bred a Whig" and his uncle, Dr Garth, "had distinguished himself as an active member of the famous Kit-Cat Club".³ His overtures were to no avail, "many years are now past since I first presented a petition as yet nothing is done for him ... I fear my children may hereafter reproach me with Inattention to their interests".⁴ Following a request from Charles Boone, Newcastle sought for Garth the post of the late Sir Francis Eyles, Commissioner in the Victualling office, from Lord Anson, describing him as "a very pretty young man; and one who, I am persuaded, would make an excellent officer", but he had previously asked for the same post to be awarded to another suppliant.⁵ Newcastle pleaded that Garth's request

²John Garth's wife, Rebecca Brompton, was a great granddaughter of Lord Chief Justice Sir Richard Raynsford. J.E. Buchanan, *Haines Hill*, (Unpublished, 1965), p.9.

³Dr Garth was Sir Samuel Garth, M.D. The Duke of Newcastle was also a member of the club. B.M. Add. MSS. 32, 873, f. 558.

⁴*Ibid.*, 32, 907, f. 459.

⁵This was the first attempt to achieve a reciprocal perquisite from the Eyles in recognition of the Colleton's substantial plantation trade with their import business.

BM Add. MSS., 32, 834, ff. 243-4, 327.

was "founded on such Parliamentary merit as few can alledge".⁶ Charles wrote to the Duke himself on a different tack, soliciting future support for succession to his father's parliamentary seat at Devizes but no reply is recorded.⁷

While John Garth's efforts went unrewarded, those of the Boones', on Charles' behalf, were more successful; but Garth had other difficulties to overcome. He had been courting Fanny Cooper since 1758. In anticipation of marriage he wrote to her mother, probably in pursuit of a marriage settlement. She was far from pleased at Charles' approach and used a blunt turn of phrase to deter him.

I received your very extraordinary letter which I think is rather in the Stile of a Demand than a request. I am sorry your marrying my Daughter was not approved of by your family as I am sure it was a very great affliction to her own. As for your last journey into England I think it was a very imprudent one. I told you then I had no money to dispose of and tho' I promised to sometimes send a little present to your children it must be what I think propper and at what time I think propper and give me leave to say the manner you proceed in will be no advantage to them: if you can get a lady of fortune you will be much in the right to accept it as it will be a means of making you perfectly easey as to your present affairs.

Your servant F. Cooper⁸

On 5 June 1762 Garth received the appointment of the South Carolina Committee of Correspondence as their Agent "tho' personally unknown to us ... we have chosen you as a Gentleman of Ability, address and assiduity".⁹ Thomas Boone had evidently taken up his brother's recommendation and secured Garth's appointment while his own

⁶*Ibid.*, 32, 834, f. 229.

⁷*Ibid.*, ff. 243-4.

⁸Frances Cooper was the daughter of Thomas Cooper of Camberwell, High Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1752, by Frances (nee Bathurst), daughter of Peter Bathurst, M.P., of Clarendon Park, not far from Devizes. In 1750 Charles Garth's first cousin, Elizabeth Evelyn, had married a Peter Bathurst of Clarendon. Undated letter. CGP, M/6.

⁹GLB, I, pp. 1-6.

reputation with the Assembly was still untarnished.¹⁰ Boone anticipated a familiar and helping hand from Garth to ease his negotiations with the home government on behalf of South Carolina. Garth saw the post as one of ministerial responsibility, in his case an accurate definition. Agents, especially those with parliamentary seats, often proved more effective than governors in achieving change.

It is surprising that the government permitted a bilateral system of representation. Their recognition of Assembly Agents gave implicit approval for access between parliaments, and Assembly to Government, usually bypassing the Crown-nominated Governor and Council. It enhanced the power of a Colonial Assembly and reduced the authority of governors. Provincial Agents became the Ministers of their Commons House without responsibility to the senior local representative of the Crown. The success of an effective Agent like Garth accelerated moves in South Carolina to become more autonomous and confirmed the ascendancy of the Assembly. The influence of successful Agents, who could harness powerful groups with political influence like the Merchants of London, achieved favourable decisions for colonial Assemblies which gave them growing self-confidence and an impetus for resistance and change. Ministers of the home government realised in 1767 that Agents had become too successful for comfort and imposed restrictions to curb their effectiveness, especially those who were not Members of Parliament.¹¹

Garth drew the attention of the Assembly to his desire to obtain satisfaction for the Province "no less than the relationship I stand in to Gentlemen residing here of considerable property in Carolina".¹² Although he did not specify them, these were his first cousins, Charles Boone, M.P., Governor Thomas Boone, who each owned half of Boone's Barony and his second cousin Colonel John Colleton of Wadboo and

¹⁰Garth to CCSC, 14 August 1762, GLB, I, p. 24.

¹¹See Michael G. Kammen, "The Colonial Agents, English Politics and the American Revolution", *WMQ*, Vol. XXII (1965), p. 255.

¹²GLB, p. 24.

Mepshoo.¹³ He did not mention a personal interest. He may have fostered an expectation of eventual inheritance of South Carolina property from his childless second cousins, Colonel John Colleton, or his elder brother and heir, James Edward Colleton.

Garth's first instructions from Carolina were of a routine nature, to obtain approval for the import of salt to preserve meat for export, the export of rice to Europe and other colonies, the settlement of the frontier dispute with North Carolina, the stationing of a naval presence on the coast, funds to conciliate the Indians, an increase to the hemp bounty, reimbursement of recent war expenses and the publication of an Act to encourage the settlement of poor Protestants.¹⁴ Initially Garth dealt with a number of non-political matters, including the minutiae of provincial policy more usually handled by a governor and his secretariat, or even by private individuals; for instance, the provision of bells for the new St Michael's Church.¹⁵

Due to intelligent anticipation, Garth was prepared with his own response to the Committee's first instructions by 30 July 1762, within two days of receiving them.¹⁶ His efficient despatch of the colony's business and a progressively successful outcome to their requests became a matter of routine which quickly established his reputation with the Assembly. Compensation for war expenses was a notable exception to Garth's early run of successes. In spite of South Carolina's effective wartime efforts which benefited its neighbours, the strict qualifying criteria could not be met or overcome by Governor Boone and Garth. Garth employed, unavailingly in that instance, the political support of his cousin James Edward Colleton, M.P., in the issue of salt imports, but the easing of regulations to assist rice exports to Africa and the American colonies had a higher priority.

¹³His third cousin Sir John Colleton III of Fairlawn and Devil's Elbow was an Assemblyman and emulated his father as a Royal Councillor in 1764.

¹⁴CCSC to Garth, 5 June 1762, *GLB*, I, pp. 1-6.

¹⁵Garth to CCSC, 29 October 1762, *GLB*, I, pp. 34-35.

¹⁶*GLB*, I, pp. 7-13.

Upon Mr Colleton's coming to London from his seat in the country (Haines Hill) he has kindly promised me all the assistance in his Power in Parliamentary Business.¹⁷

Colleton could summon seven relations and connections by marriage to support American causes in Parliament, eight including himself and the addition of Charles Garth in 1765 made nine, adding considerably to Garth's ability to influence ministers.¹⁸ Garth also made use of more effective lobbies. He demonstrated his first emphatic use of political pressure from the influential merchants by obtaining signatures to a petition from every merchant of London in the Carolina trade to waive the restrictions in the export of rice to any European market.¹⁹ The views of the merchants could be decisive with parliament and government boards.²⁰

Garth appreciated the value of good communications with all those likely to assist his cause. He held meetings with other Agents to co-ordinate policy and to increase leverage on government. With the help of Agents and Merchants he enjoyed special success throughout his period of office in obtaining concessions for agricultural products. A lack of patronage worked to his advantage. The selective use of influential lobbies was more effective without obligation when they could be solicited according to conscience. The speed of Garth's reaction did not always allow time for consultation. He was prepared to make decisions on behalf of his committee with careful deliberation, especially in matters of definition, second nature to him as a barrister. However, he disliked varying his instructions without approval even if a different policy might be to South Carolina's advantage. He was astute in political negotiation and picked his way through a complicated and increasing volume of work, apparently without prejudicing his position at home or in Carolina. The Committee of Correspondence did not recompense Garth's endeavours

¹⁷Garth to CCSC, 30 April 1763, *GLB*, I, p. 49.

¹⁸"Charles Garth", pp. 454-5.

¹⁹Garth to CCSC, *GLB*, I, pp. 50-3.

²⁰"Charles Garth, Agent", p. 637.

promptly. He should have received £200 per annum plus expenses, but the Assembly were often slow to honour their obligation. This was not entirely surprising after Garth had encouraged a belief that his father had a deep pocket.²¹ His remark was unlikely to be intended as a boast, more as a self-demeaning remark, typical of him, that reward for his work was of little consequence. Abnegation was a test of his commitment to South Carolina.

Garth displayed a similar form of conscientiousness in his handling of the Boone cause célèbre. In April 1763 he advised the Committee of Correspondence that the Lords of Trade were aware of the circumstances of Governor Boone's confrontation with the Assembly.²² Until he received instructions from the Committee, Garth decided to make preparations for a defence of the Assembly's refusal to do business with the Governor. He informed the Committee that he intended

to furnish Counsel with the proper instructions to defend and vindicate the proceedings of both Houses of Assembly and their Character from any Imputation of Disrespect to His Majesty ... that ... I may at least be in readiness.²³

To ensure delivery the Committee despatched their instructions to Garth by duplicate letters on 16 and 29 September and he received them in mid-November 1763.²⁴ They called for the presentation of a petition to the King. The events which followed are given in detail because some

²¹On 30 July 1763 Garth rashly told the Committee, "My father's purse will always be at my service upon any commands from South Carolina." He had no justification for such a statement. *GLB*, I, p. 82.

²²Garth CCSC, 30 April 1763, *GLB*, I, p. 58.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴The second of these letters is cited by Namier but misdated 14 February 1762 which was both before the event and Garth's appointment.

Jack P. Greene notes Namier's citations in *GLB* and adds "Despite several attempts, I was unable to gain access to the extant copy of his (Garth's) letter book which is now in private possession." Without access Sirmans and Greene would be unaware of Garth's immediate response to the Assembly's report of the Boone affair. Both typescript volumes of *GLB* are extant and have always been in the private possession of Garth's family. See "Charles Garth", p. 466. Garth to CCSC, 19 November 1763, *GLB*, I, p. 90, gives the dates on which the Committee letters of 16 and 19 September 1763 were received. See also Bibliography, Notes on Sources.

historians have remarked on the difficult situation in which Garth would find himself as cousin to Thomas Boone. They have deduced that Garth gave him protection by delaying submission of the circumstances to the authorities until July 1764. It can now be demonstrated that this conclusion is flawed. A correct interpretation of Garth's behaviour is that he gave his loyalty to the Assembly, as his employer, rather than to Boone. It was the first real test of his character. Because of his tactful handling of the affair he even escaped the wrath of his cousin.²⁵ Garth fully appreciated and responded to the importance of submitting the petition quickly. He did so within one week of receiving it, in mid-November 1763.²⁶ The printing and distribution of copies of the report by the Assembly's Committee of Privileges was a separate matter of less urgency than the petition, yet its date of issue has been used as evidence of delay.²⁷ The text of the printed pamphlet required some preparation by Garth and approval by South Carolina. Copies of an earlier pamphlet reporting the events had been circulated to some colony agents. Garth sent copies of it to his committee in Charleston as early as 30 April 1763. He quickly responded to the committee's instructions on 19 November 1763:

On my Part, Gentlemen, I beg you to be assur'd that not the least Delay shall be given to the punctual executive of your Commands: unpleasant as the task is in the situation I stand, yet the Committee has already receiv'd my assurances of a faithful Attention to and a diligent discharge of that Duty, my Station calls upon me for and which my honour and conscience earnestly suggests upon the present occasion: these Assurances I should not here repeat if I thought myself capable of swerving from that which I owe to the Community of South Carolina, what the Issue shall be I cannot know but that my Duty is to endeavour to bring it to a speedy and

²⁵R.M. Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 68.

²⁶19 November 1763, GLB, I p. 90.

²⁷Devotion to duty was such a notable Garth characteristic that suggestions of partisan delay must be corrected. Boone was shown no favour. M.E. Sirmans infers that Garth delayed informing the authorities by not submitting the printed report until July 1764. Jack P. Greene also comments that Garth made no official submission of the pamphlet until July 1764. Neither mentions the petition Garth submitted on 17 November 1763 to the Privy Council. See CSC, p. 355, "Gadsden Election Controversy", *MVHR*, Vol XLVI (1959), p. 483; Garth to CCSC, 19 November 1763, GLB, I, pp. 90-93, 97-103.

Happy Issue I full well know ... there is no such thing as presenting a Petition when his Majesty ... should be at the Council ... the ... practice ... is to leave the petition ... with the Clerk ... to be laid before the Board.²⁸

Garth showed the draft of his resolution to merchants trading with the colony. They were doubtful about the propriety of giving support to a resolution upholding the suspension of the King's business and declined to do so. Nevertheless, Garth was careful to obtain their witness to his activity in view of the rapid private communications of the merchant community between London and Charleston and to avoid any speculative or distorted stories reaching Carolina. On 17 November 1763, only a few days after receipt of his instructions, he handed his petition to the Duke of Bedford, Lord President of the Council, the appropriate body for matters affecting the discipline of governors. The Duke of Bedford directed Garth to give it to the Secretary of the Council for consideration at their next meeting. According to Garth it was read at that sitting.²⁹ The Council deferred consideration until Boone's own response to the petition had been received especially as there was some doubt at the Board of Trade whether Boone intended to return on leave. A hearing of his response was to await that event or confirmation that he was not sailing for England. By the end of 1763 Garth was aware of Boone's decision to return home. On 24 December he wrote to his fiancée,

tho' I own I cannot help thinking I have so much business on my hands, of Moment, to recommend me, (by soliciting with success,) to the Assembly of South Carolina, for the purposes of being continued in that employ, now that Mr Boone is coming home, that till the Rising of Parliament I shall scarce have a moment's time to myself.³⁰

Garth reported progress to the Committee of Correspondence on 7 January 1764.³¹ He had registered a protest with the Board at the effect

²⁸At this time Garth was addressing his letters "care of the Governor". Boone wrote to him on 21 November 1763 advising him to use the address "Honble. the Committee of Correspondence." WGP/4, GLB, I, p.90.

²⁹Garth to CCSC, 7 January 1764, GLB, I, p. 98.

³⁰CGP, Box 7, M/9.

³¹GLB, I, pp. 97-99.

on the colony of a delayed consideration of the case but there was nothing further he could do.³² Garth's "activities received full recognition from the South Carolina Assembly."³³ Boone did not leave Charleston until early May 1764. Garth's conscientious and self-effacing devotion to his American constituents is well illustrated by Namier in his perceptive monograph on Garth's Agency.³⁴ Quotations from official and especially the private correspondence of Garth and his wife, which follow, will leave the reader in no doubt that he put duty before everything, even his own family.³⁵

Garth had little hope that a decision would be made on the Assembly's allegation that their privilege had been abused. He wrote three days later to advise the Assembly that the Governor had arrived in the *Druid*, and again on 3 July to say that the renowned Mr Dunning had been retained as counsel to defend the Assembly of South Carolina at a hearing to be held on 13 July.³⁶ Boone decided to leave his defence "in the hands of his judges", the Lords Commissioners. On 20 July 1764 Garth sent his Committee a full report of events; the fairness of the proceedings had made a strong impression:

It would be Injustice to the Board if I admitted to observe that more Candour, or more Impartiality I never saw at any Hearing in any Court of Law or Equity whatever.³⁷

³²"It was my duty ... to represent the Inconveniences that a delay must be productive of in the Colony". *Ibid.*, p. 98.

The Committee had noticed the omission of the printer's name on the title page of a copy of the publicity pamphlet which they required to be included; hardly a delaying tactic by Garth.

³³Garth recorded many occasions on which he received favourable comments on his work, including acknowledgment of a flattering letter from Speaker Lowndes on behalf of the Assembly, sent just before the Boone hearing. Garth to Committee, 25 August 1764, *GLB*, I, p. 153, "Charles Garth, Agent", p. 635.

³⁴"Charles Garth, Agent", p. 644.

³⁵CGP, Box 7, M/1-M/18.

³⁶CCSC to Garth, 30 June, 3 July 1764, *GLB*, I, pp. 140, 141.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 141-8.

Garth declared an objection to part of the court report which had been issued to him 16 July just before the meeting.³⁸ He had "an unsuperable" objection to the comment that the Assembly (of South Carolina) "had forgot their duty (to the King) in persisting in a Resolution, unjustifiable in itself, and disrespectful to their Sovereign".³⁹ Garth's objection was a tactic to make the findings more palatable to the committee in Carolina. He made further reference to the difficult position in which he found himself, in opposition to his cousin, but he again made clear what course he intended to take,

in the situation I stand, I had rather to be thought to err in doing too much than too little.

Garth's ambitions extended beyond the Agency of South Carolina. He had hoped to increase his income by securing the Crown Agency of one of the two colonies, Florida and Louisiana, ceded to Britain under the Treaty of Fontainbleau. He confessed his disappointment to his fiancée, Frances Cooper.⁴⁰ The Georgia post was secondary in his estimation to the agency of the new territories.

My dear Love

I have in my lifetime determined to keep all my disappointments to myself, but I don't know how it is I feel in myself the strongest inclination to communicate to you even the most trifling incident that happens upon every occasion: to a principle of indulgence to so extraordinary an Humour you will attribute the trouble I am about to give you to inform you of the disappointments I have lately experienced. Mr Grenville had promised me his best endeavours and had accordingly nominated me as Agent to one of the New Governments, but Lord Grosvenor stepped in and represented to him that a friend of his had obtained a promise thereof from Lord Egremont and hoped Mr Grenville would confirm it, So poor I was ousted and obliged

³⁸Their Lordships present were Lord Halifax (Chair), Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Talbot, Lord Sandwich, Lord Cholmondeley, Lord Hillsborough, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Grenville and Mr Nugent. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁴⁰The letter is undated but must have been written c. November 1763 at the time of the public announcement of his appointment as Crown Agent of Georgia, CGP, M/9A.

to give way notwithstanding that civil letter to my father which I showed you in the Assembly Rooms at Salisbury. Methinks, my love, I see your lift of hands and eyes exclaiming at the faith and credulity of your C.G. to have seen so much of the world in so licentious an age as this and to believe that a woman can be true or Minister sincere! I confess, my Fanny, principles of honesty and integrity seem so little to be attended to by those who superintended the education of the juvenile of both sexes that my faith does seem extraordinary; but if I have as much reason to be sure of some right by the one as experience has shown, I have not misplaced it in the other. I am by God the very happiest of all human beings and shall never repent having given the very utmost of credulity. Now, my dear love, much as you deserve the above compliments, let me for once mortify you by telling you I meant to apply it to Mr Grenville's conduct. I am appointed (Crown) agent to the Province of Georgia. He told me Tuesday he had recommended me to His Majesty and the warrant should be forthwith made out: Amen. Now don't abuse me any more. I long to see you. I wish a thousand things, My Love, but dare not tell you the one half of my wishes. My dear Fan, don't write to me about this or that nonsense, but acquaint me (----) about yourself and what your movements are or likely to be. I have wrote many letters that I have not had time to say more than to assure you that now my happiness alone depends on yourself.

I am
My Dearest Life
Most Truly, Faithfully and Affectionately
Yours C.G.

Garth's crown responsibilities for Georgia were "principally confined to the receiving and issuing the money granted by Parliament to defray the expenses of that Government". He had no discretion in other matters "since they do not entrust their concerns to the King's Agent".⁴¹ He was confident that in due course he would be able to order and reduce his involvement. He told his fiancée,

The other agency (Georgia) too is rather troublesome and will be till I have put everything into a method which can't be done immediately as it concerns Money Matters with Government, but when I have established my system, in comparison with the first, I call it almost a sinecure.⁴²

⁴¹Garth to CCSC, 7 January 1764, GLB, I, p. 102.

⁴²Garth to Frances Cooper, 24 December 1763, CGP, M/9B.

The course of Garth's long engagement was far from smooth and the difficulties of his Agency were no greater than those of his private life. He gave no sign that they impinged on his work. His fiancée could be petulant and touchy to the point of paranoia. She added to the burden of his task and gave him little comfort or support. He complained of suffering "from the severity of your pen".⁴³ A year before their marriage, during the season of goodwill, he wrote:

London, December 24th 1763

My Dearest Love

I write to acknowledge the favour of your long letter last night, the length of it bespeaks Friendship and Affection, but it cuts me to the heart to perceive the latent Displeasure, the latent Dissatisfaction, discernable in the style and manner throughout to an eye less sensible than mine to what it feels when it reads from you. I am writing now with a Head Ache, the effect of Disquietude and not one Wink the whole night long. On what subjects soever I write I find it difficult to please you, Party, Political, visit to H. are all alike, ascribed to rooted prejudices against your friends, when God knows, my heart, I have not any prejudice against either My head is so much indisposed that I can't enter into many things thrown out in your letter, many things I take kindly tho' some I would have wished to have been omitted.⁴⁴

However acerbic Garth found his wife's reaction to his interests, he must have found relief from a nagging wife in the work of his agency. Soon after Christmas he returned to the intractable problems of legal tender currency. The restriction of future issue of Paper Currency in the Provinces was discussed between the Board of Trade, Agents and the principal North American Merchants in January 1764. Garth reported the meeting to his Committee on the 15th.⁴⁵ He had obtained the impression "that in all future Issuings the Provinces will be restrained from making it (currency) a legal tender ... I scarce think the Lords will

⁴³CGP, M/9B.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵This date may have been wrongly transcribed. A letter from Garth of 21 January covered one of Pownall's referring to a meeting postponed until "19 Instant". GLB, I, pp. 103-4.

venture to go further". The colonies other than Virginia "begged their Lordships to avoid every Measure that might affect the Credit of what now exists". The Board of Trade had voluntarily taken up the matter as part "of their great Plan to establish throughout America one uniform system of Government and Policy". The most significant part of Garth's letter was the penultimate paragraph. Although Garth had drawn attention to a threatened tax he did not anticipate its full impact.

A Rumour prevails (I fear too true) that there is a design to impose a Tax on your Paper, Leather, Hides and other Articles, and to lower the Duties on Foreign Molasses, Rum, Sugar and only allowing the Americans a free Trade with unenumerated commodities to the West Indies, subject to foreign Dominions, and this in order to raise a sum sufficient to keep on foot 10,000 regular Troops on the Continent; as yet the scheme has not been declared; whatever Resolutions are taken that may threaten the Provinces with Difficulties we shall not omit giving opposition to⁴⁶

The Agents were only prepared to accept the Board of Trade's proposals for sterling debts contracted in Great Britain, paper should not be legal tender after a specified period. They would meanwhile refer to their colonies for a view. "The Board not expecting this firmness and Resolution with some Degree of Displeasure dismissed us"⁴⁷ Garth demonstrated his ability to record a discussion almost verbatim; "as faithfull an account of this Transaction as my Memory is capable of furnishing which I believe is pretty exact".⁴⁸ The assistance he gave to the Committee for Correspondence by the speed of return and detailed accuracy of his reports is incalculable. Garth proceeded to detail explicitly

⁴⁶Referred to by Garth later as "The America Bill". Garth to CCSC, 17 April 1764, GLB, I, p. 117.

⁴⁷Garth to committee, 25 February 1764, GLB, I, p. 112. The Currency Act was passed in 1764. It prohibited the issue of legal tender currency after 1 September 1764 and retirement dates had to be strictly observed. Governors who violated the Act could be fined £1,000 and dismissed instantly.

⁴⁸Ella Lonn uses his record of a meeting with the Board of Trade on 25 March 1770 as an example and refers to his "kaleidoscope memory". See *Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies*, (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1945), p. 229; Garth to CCSC, 25 February 1764, GLB, I, p. 112.

the reasons for the line he had taken at the meeting.⁴⁹ On 17 April 1764, perhaps naively and without any great concern for its consequences, he described the details of the 15th Resolution in the budget, and the debate which followed, to his Committee. The Resolution was the precursor to the "America Bill". Grenville agreed that implementation should be delayed until the next session when the views of the colonies had been obtained.⁵⁰ The annual expense to the Revenue of American defence in time of peace had been assessed by Grenville as £350,000. Garth described Grenville's proposals as,

a sum the several colonies were together able to relieve the Mother Country of, the Difficulty was as to the Mode; the Duties he propos'd ... would be far short of that sum, with the Addition of certain Stamp Duties the whole might be raised without any great Burthen to the subjects of America but the Sovereignty of Parliament over ... the British Dominions for the purpose of collecting any Tax ... *the House would never suffer to be disputed.*⁵¹

Garth described the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposal for a new change to the Bill to satisfy Americans,

that the Moneys to be raised ... should be applied to no other use ... than their own immediate defence ...

He made some perceptive comments for the guidance of his committee,

the House were so unanimous in thinking it Reasonable for America to raise the Revenue ... they will not listen to any complaints... That this money will be raised from America *in some shape or other*, from what I have seen and heard I can scarce have a doubt as likewise that *every Remonstrance against it from Inability to bear the Burthen will be ineffectual*.

Garth recommended that to avoid Stamp Duties being imposed by Parliament,

I should not think it well judg'd for the Assemblies to pass some such Act within their Respective Colonies ... (and) the

⁴⁹GLB, I, pp. 112-15.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 118-21.

Dignity and Privilege of the Colony (would be) preserved safe and entire.

Garth's forecast of the consequences was accurate but his comments betrayed an unconcerned interest in the proceedings of the House rather than alarm at their effect. His recommendation assumed acceptance by South Carolina of the justice of a tax but disputed the origin of legislation.

I flatter myself the Committee will not think me blameable for throwing out any Imperfect hints that may have occur'd to me on a subject so interesting to those I have the Honour to serve.

Later, after he had awakened to the Committee's hostility, Garth's part in securing repeal had consequences for all the American colonies. On 17 May 1764 Grenville promised to listen to any alternative proposals made by the colonies. After reporting to the meeting, Garth offered another assurance of his overriding interest on behalf of the Colony,

That the privileges of the Colonies should at all times have a due Regard paid to them from hence, is a Measure I hope always to see adher'd to, not more because as Agent for a very capital and flourishing Colony, it is my duty to adopt such Notions, than most in my Private Opinion I think a contrary Conduct will endanger the Liberties of this Country equally with those of the Colonies.....⁵²

On 26 December 1764 Garth acknowledged to Speaker Lowndes a request from the South Carolina Committee of Correspondence to continue in their service "having received repeated Assurances of your Approbation, yet human Nature feels a Pleasure in so express an avowal, so public a Testimony of Approbation". He promised to make it a priority "to merit the continuance of that favourable opinion".⁵³ He discussed their directions for opposition to the Stamp Act and arrangements to co-

⁵²Garth to CCSC, 5 June 1764, *GLB*, I, pp. 137.

⁵³*GLB*, I, p. 155.

ordinate the activity of other Agents.⁵⁴ Their arguments "I think so full and particular ... I shall have sufficient Matter ... to frame my Petition". Their instruction to procure the emission of £4,000 legal tender Paper Currency "is rather distressing to me ... from the almost apparent impossibility of succeeding". Garth was fearful that "it will be of Prejudice to that which now substitutes a Tender in Law by provoking a more restrictive law". The Committee approved Garth's point of view.

On 29 November 1764 Garth married Frances Cooper and less than a month later his father died leaving a vacancy for his parliamentary seat and property in Huntingdonshire to Charles.⁵⁵ Frances recalled the circumstances in a letter of 8 May 1784 to her husband's cousin, Mrs James Edward Colleton of Haines Hill.⁵⁶

To go back to my marriage, after six years' attendance and importunity I consented to engage in the cares of life with Mr Garth, who had at that time the Agency of Georgia, £300 a year and the Agency of Carolina £400 a year, bred to the profession of the law and very competent so to make his Fortune that way. The only promise I exacted from him previous to marriage was that when his father dyed (who was at the time of our marriage very dangerously ill) that he would never have anything to do with Devizes, or Parliament, as he assured me. He was sensible it must be his ruin if he did. In six weeks after the promise the trial came, his Father dyed, I accompanying him to Devizes and on the road, on entering the town, he declared his resolution of declining all pretensions there; but in a few days after getting to Mrs Garth and his family there was a resolution taken to send to all the old friends to try his success (in consequence of his

⁵⁴These are contained in their letters to Garth of 4 September, 9 and 19 October 1764, cited by him but not extant in HHA. The October letters are not cited in the Laurens Papers. Garth's comments of 26 December 1764 seem to be the only surviving evidence of their contents. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56, and "Charles Garth, Agent", pp. 648-49.

⁵⁵John Garth's memorial stone in St Mary's Church, Devizes, includes the words "April 17th 1732, he was chose the Recorder, and February 26 1739, elected Representative in Parliament for this Borough of the Devizes. Zealous in his Service and attentive to its Prosperity, this honour was repeatedly conferred on him for the Remainder of his Life ever esteeming it a real Honour to represent a Borough distinguished for its Loyalty, Freedom and Integrity. To the sedentary way of living which he fell into from an early and continued love for the pleasures of Literature, the Illnes was chiefly owing that occasioned his death...."

⁵⁶CGP, M/1.

having first declared against standing). There was the most violent contest that was ever known.⁵⁷ My miseries, agitations, disappointment and grief can never be expressed upon this occasion, but it availed nothing. He was chose, gave £300 to one man and more to others. In short it cost him near four thousand pounds in about five years. And he was in consequence of being in Parliament divested of his Agency of Georgia and of his profession, had no compensation either for upwards of five years. And his Father who had but a very small estate and charged it to the full of its value for younger children except that part secured to Mrs Garth for her jointure and Hundred and Fifty secured as I thought to me in jointure, well her jointure fell in, and two thousand of my own Fortune secured likewise to make-up the deficiency, till that period.

Frances engaged in one of her tirades against her husband. Regardless of whether Charles broke a promise not to stand, the benefits to his agency were obvious. To work inside parliament when an opportunity existed instead of attending as an observer or lobbyist was not only sensible but more convenient. It gave access to information, the opportunity for influence and prevented exclusion from important debates. The benefits were recognised by Garth's colleague, Benjamin Franklin who urged his constituents to choose an agent from parliament, "almost everything is granted to Members of Parliament".⁵⁸ Garth had the Stamp Act very much in mind when he wrote to his Committee on 8 February 1765:

My Father's death made a vacancy in the Borough he represented, the Credit of succeeding him influenced me upon this occasion I acknowledge ... At this Juncture when the most important interests of the Colonies are to be agitated in Parliament I thought the best return I could make the Province for the favours it has conferred, and confidence it has reposed in me was to plan myself if possible in a light of consideration that would always procure me at least attention to my Applications: This Opinion Determined me; and if the benefit to be deriv'd to you is at all equal to my

⁵⁷The election was on 15 January 1765. It was contested by Sir Thomas Fludyer, a rich cloth factor, who had "established an interest with the Clothiers ... (of Wiltshire) against me". Garth won 17-10. There was a violent riot the previous night during which the windows of most of Garth's friends were broken. Garth to CCSC, 8 February 1765, *GLB*, I, pp. 168-9; "Charles Garth, Agent", p. 645.

⁵⁸Michael G. Kammen, *A Rope of Sand*, p. 97.

expectations I shall have no regret in having sacrificed a Competency to that sense of Gratitude....⁵⁹

Frances Garth's acute disappointment at the alleged breaking of her husband's engagement vow was probably motivated by her determination that membership of the House of Commons would result in penury for herself and her children. She showed no signs of encouraging his political career, rather a disappointment that he was not practising more lucratively at the Bar.

To pursue their case against the Stamp Act the Colonies instructed Agents to "support (their) Rights and Privileges", but most of them "signified their Inclinations to assist their Mother Country" in meeting her American debts.⁶⁰ Garth reported that he, Franklin for Pennsylvania and Ingoldsell had been nominated as representatives of all the Agents and attended "a meeting of great Tenderness and regard for the Happiness of the Colonies" with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.⁶¹ The Chancellor felt bound to Parliament to propose the implementation of the previous year's budget resolution. The arguments deployed in committee on 6 February 1765 had "tended to prove that the Colonies were virtually represented in Parliament ... as those of the subjects of Great Britain". It had been argued "that there could not be a distinction between the Powers of Legislation and Taxation". The newly-elected member Garth and his colleagues divided the Committee, but the vote in parliament went 245-49 against them and indicates the size of the accomplishment by the supporters of repeal in reversing it later. Garth and Franklin quickly justified the confidence of the Colonies and other Agents in their work for their American constituents. Garth's ability and conscientiousness during his two and a half year's as an Agent was recognised by other Colonial assemblies who were anxious to obtain his services in the battle for repeal. Georgia could no longer be his responsibility as Crown Agent after election

⁵⁹GLB, I, p. 169.

⁶⁰Garth to CCSC, 8 February 1765, GLB, I, p. 167.

⁶¹*Ibid.* The letter is printed in full in "Charles Garth, Agent", pp. 650-1, taken by Namier from GLB, I, pp. 165-9.

to parliament which might involve a conflict of interests. His resignation was followed within the year by a request from the Assembly of Georgia, supported by the Assembly of South Carolina, for him to act as a special Agent on their behalf in opposing the Stamp Act.⁶² The Assembly of Maryland also sought his services in the same cause.⁶³ Its Proprietary had feared the appointment of Franklin or Jackson in defiance of their wishes. Garth agreed to help Maryland at his own discretion but without Council backing no official funds were voted to assist him.⁶⁴ Garth consistently placed his commitment to America and the obligations of office above financial reward, a surer test of ideological belief in his cause than many would have been prepared to endure. His purse and time were put under further strain in a selfless regard to duty and cause, as his wife was later to confirm. The usual rewards for success in office could have provided motivation but absolute success would have alienated him from the Administration.

On 15 February 1765 the Stamp Act received its second reading. Garth could find only three South Carolinians in London to sign his petition against it. He was concerned at the intemperate language of petitions from other Colonies which "questioned the power of Parliament in very high Tones".⁶⁵ Members inclined towards the Colonies would not support aggressive petitions "from a Certainty of Incurring the Censure of Parliament". None were accepted for a hearing, Garth's because it "tended to Question the Right of Parliament to exercise this Power of Taxation and being likewise against a Money Bill". Garth took pains to explain that he had advised the House that he would vote as a Member of Parliament "from a Persuasion that this was not the proper time for calling upon the

⁶²This was opposed by Governor Wright of Georgia on the grounds of incompatibility with the Agency of South Carolina. See "Charles Garth, Agent", p. 642. The CCSC, request for Garth to assist Georgia as in their letter to Garth, 16 December 1765, WGP/9.

⁶³Maryland letter of 26 October 1765, WGP/7. Garth received his commission on 29 January 1766.

⁶⁴Kammen, *A Rope of Sand*, p. 52.

⁶⁵Garth to CCSC, 17 February 1765, GLB, I, pp. 169-172, and "Charles Garth, Agent", pp. 650-1. (Printed in full).

Colonies for their (financial) assistance ... (and) the Exertion of this power by Parliament ... unnecessary ... other means might and ought to have been attempted".

The bill received Royal Assent in March. Soon afterwards Garth reported to his Committee the difficulties of the Commander-in-Chief America in obtaining quarters for his troops. The Secretary of War proposed to introduce a law authorising civilian officers to issue billets and oblige the proprietors to provide the "soldier's diet".⁶⁶ The terms raised Garth's ire more than the Stamp Act. The clauses of the Bill "I think of so much Importance and so Interesting to every Thing a Subject can hold dear and valuable, that I have taken every Opportunity of giving it all the Opposition in my Power".⁶⁷ Garth, Franklin and Ingoldsall were invited to amend parts of the act with the backing of the Merchants, Edward Montague and other Agents. The amendments are not specified but had the effect of allowing troops to billet unoccupied premises only.⁶⁸ "I took Mr Franklin and Mr Ingoldsall in my Hand... Mr Ellis altered those parts we excepted."⁶⁹ The terms were reasonably standard for imperial troops serving in colonies but Garth vehemently opposed any regulations tending to affect South Carolina's "sovereignty".⁷⁰

Seven months elapsed during which Garth had "nothing very material to Transmit" but reactions in the Colonies to the Stamp Act were far from mute. Robert Lloyd, Speaker of Maryland, wrote of Britain's interference

⁶⁶This was the Mutiny Bill, reported by Garth to CCSC, 5 April 1765, GLB, I, pp. 177-181.

⁶⁷His great-grandson annotated Garth's Letter Book "why?". Garth ended his letter "never till upon this occasion (do I) truly feel myself equally the representative of the Province of South Carolina and of Devizes in Parliament". Captain Godsall annotated this phrase "But he takes the side of his principals here rather strongly". I agree. Garth was over-reacting. Garth to Committee, 5 April 1765, GLB, pp. 177-181.

⁶⁸Namier outlined the amendments in "Charles Garth, Agent", p. 642.

⁶⁹Garth to Committee, 25 May 1765, GLB, I, p. 183, and "Charles Garth, Agent", p. 642.

⁷⁰His reference to the Mutiny Act in his next letter to his Committee was "A measure so oppressive in its tendency". 25 May 1765, GLB, p. 182.

with trade and unfair laws of seizure "as if Parliament deemed it criminal to be an American".⁷¹ He compared British and American liberty, "may the Supreme Being inspire the British legislature with Wisdom, Justice and Moderation". A few days later the South Carolina committee wrote to indicate the depth of their feelings, but repudiated Republicanism or the wish to separate from the "Old Country".⁷² On 23 December 1765 Garth sent his committee a copy of the King's Speech and advised that a phrase in it concerning America, the first and most important topic, had been withdrawn.⁷³ The original wording and a defeated amendment were indicative of sectional feelings. Disturbances in America were described as "important occurrences" but an amendment was proposed,

purporting to express to His Majesty the just Indignation and Resentment of the House at the tumultuous Proceeding carried on with a rebellious Force in some Parts of America... (but) his faithfull Commons would not fail to support ... with vigour the undoubted supremacy of Parliament...

This amendment was withdrawn. Garth advised that the Committee of Merchants, established on behalf of America, had written to the manufacturing boroughs of Great Britain,

representing the distressed state of their friends in America and the great decay... to the trade... of Great Britain ... the probable decline... in American trade... and the ill consequences... to the Merchants and Manufacturers of this Kingdom as well as to the Americans.

The boroughs were asked to apply their influence to their elected representatives and advise them of the consequences. Garth was more concerned privately than he disclosed officially, at the effects of unemployment in Britain following American restrictions in imports. His views are contained in an undated and unaddressed contemporary letter preserved with his other papers, possibly to a relative at Garth House, Devizes, but ended with "Your....very affectionate, Charles Garth".

⁷¹Maryland to Garth, 9 December 1765, WGP/8.

⁷²CCSC to Garth, 16 December 1765, WGP/9.

⁷³Garth to CCSC, 23 December 1764, GLB, I, p. 185-6.

With regard to Politicks, I have very little to send you, we debated upon the address Tuesday with the dividing, and the House was not up till eight a clock. Things are in strange confusion here as well as in America. Unless America shall obtain some relief, the trade and Manufacture of this Kingdom will feel a very heavy and (serious) check, which at this juncture when the necessaries of life are at so extravagant a price, I fear will be the means whereby *insurrections will extend to this Kingdom and not be confined to America only.*⁷⁴ I understand the Merchants of London have wrote to this effect to every manufacturing borough in the Kingdom desiring their interest in behalf of Americans and of trade with their representatives. Amongst others I hear they have wrote to the Mayor and Corporation of Devizes. If so I could wish to hear if any such letter has been received of what Resolution may have been taken. I am no way displeased at this step of the Merchants as it will convince my constituents of the Propriety of my conduct the last session in opposing a measure pregnant wick such evil to the Commerce and Manufactures of this Kingdom and at the same time oppressive upon America. I will not add more now than with Mrs Garth my joint Respects subscribe myself as I am

Dear Madam
Your dutiful
and very affectionate
Charles Garth

Tuesday evening

Garth's concern about possible insurrection in Britain, in a considered and private letter, is a significant and important comment from an informed and intelligent man of affairs. It may have been speculative or even deliberately provocative to emphasise the need for repeal. It would be more revealing if the identity of the addressee was known but if his fears were general, the effect of instability among manufacturing workers in England may have been an additional influence on politicians to vote for repeal. If it was a contributory factor, or even an intentional effect of restricting American imports, it does not seem to have been widely reported by historians, if at all.⁷⁵ Garth was of the opinion that the repeal

⁷⁴Garth wrote "sensibly" but probably intended "serious" or "severe". CGP, M/18.

⁷⁵Edmund S. and Helen Morgan discuss the "effect on British exports sufficient to give British merchants an urgent reason to wish for repeal" and fear of the English merchants that they "faced ruin", but I have found no references to possible insurrection in England. *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution*, (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1963) pp. 353-370 especially.

of the Stamp Act might have already been proposed had it not been for accounts of its obstruction in America which had "become a subject matter of Converse with almost all orders of men."⁷⁶

On 19 January 1766 Garth despatched to South Carolina the longest letter of his career as an Agent, the equivalent of twenty six typed pages, of the debate in the Commons on the Stamp Act. He reported Pitt's legendary and final speech of consequence in which he made clear his view "that the Parliament of Great Britain had no right to lay any internal Tax upon the inhabitants of the Colonies.... nothing could give that power but a Representation".⁷⁷ Pitt called for immediate repeal but condemned "the manner of opposition". Garth gave his own commentary about public opinion in England.

Great exception ...has been ...taken by People living in the Country ... from what is construed to be a refusal of the Americans to contribute.... to the expenses of Government but to throw.... the load of their support upon the Inhabitants of Great Britain only.... I have (marked) out.... the only and material point in Dispute.

In the manner of a barrister he deployed the legal precedents for Representation to be the "sine qua non" of taxation and "to a repeal of the Stamp Act do they at present most clearly and manifestly point".⁷⁸ It was fully appreciated there was no prospect of enforcing the Stamp Act without military pressure. Many of the reports from the Colonies gave an impression "far from favourable" which "hurt the cause not only in the ... Commons but very much in the ...Lords".⁷⁹ One of the most telling points made in debate was on behalf of the case for central taxation, "That if the Parliament had the Power to take away (Proprietary) Charters, by which Colonists claim the right and Power of imposing and levying taxes, it could

⁷⁶Garth to CCSC, 23 December 1765, *Ibid.*, pp. 186-7.

⁷⁷A copy of this full and most informative account is also held by SCHS and the Library of Congress. It is a fine example of Garth's abilities as reporter and commentator. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-217.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 192-3.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 197.

but be possessed of the Power of Taxation".⁸⁰ A Resolution was approved, following debate, that "The King...hath, and of right ought to have, full...Authority to make Laws...of sufficient Force....to bind the People in America...subjects of Great Britain, in all Cases whatsoever". Garth was a dissenting voice. It seemed to him "no Honour to the Mother Country to pride itself upon a Power neither founded in Justice nor Equity". Garth acknowledged "there never was a Debate so temperate, serious, solemn and Parliamentary, without the least appearance of Party or Faction".⁸¹ Petitions, which Garth would have wished to present earlier, arrived from Maryland and South Carolina during the day following. After taking advice and some prevarication, Garth decided to withdraw them. Their consideration would have interfered with the procedure for achieving repeal. He wavered in contravening the instructions of his principals but commonsense steeled him.

The debate on a general address to the Crown, which followed the previous three-day session, lasted six days until eleven p.m. each night. Writing later to Maryland, Garth described the fatigue of the sessions which had "not only been protracted much longer than could expected but... we almost turn'd Night into Day". His stamina was remarkable; Garth claimed that he was "never absent half an hour during the whole Time these affairs have been in Agitation" but was fortified by the strengthening opinion of the Committee of the House that they should move for a bill of repeal.⁸² The vote was 275 to 167. "Sic jubilate Deo", wrote Garth.

His conduct had already earned the unanimous vote of the Assembly to be appointed their "especial" as well as General Agent, "an Honour in which I believe I stand alone".⁸³ It would have been little satisfaction to the South Carolina Assembly to hear from Garth that Thomas Boone "has had the honour to have been frequently consulted by the Administration

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 216.

and that his opinion and mine have entirely concurred upon the Injustices, etc., of this Act of Oppression". However, it illustrates Garth's innate sense of fairness and hope of some reconciliation for Boone. A special vessel was chartered by the Carolina Merchants to take news of the proceedings to Charleston.⁸⁴ On 18 March 1766 Garth notified the passage of the Repeal Bill through the Lords, without a division.⁸⁵ A Bill for better securing the dependency of America, which redefined the legislative and fiscal relationship of the colonies to the Mother Country, was deferred for further consideration. Discussions on alternative means of reassigning duties involved continuing discussions with Agents, Merchants, Parliament and government departments. Garth reported to South Carolina that "better, fuller, or stronger evidence...could not have been given than was delivered from....Franklin of Philadelphia and many others examined for Hours at the Bar".⁸⁶ Provoked by the euphoria over repeal and in common with other colonies, South Carolina commissioned Garth to obtain a statue of Pitt for which they voted £1,000; Pitt described the order as "the most distinguished Compliment paid him from America.... The great object of his Solicitude was to see a just confidence mutually entertained by the Mother Country and her Colonies".⁸⁷

After repeal Garth became heavily involved in the routine work of his three Agencies, South Carolina, Georgia and Maryland, although reporting events in London meant that a large proportion was of common interest and therefore copy work. Acceptance of responsibility for three Assembly Agencies, the most onerous type of representation, may have been forced upon him for financial reasons but salaries were moderate and intermittently paid. South Carolina paid £200 p.a. plus expenses for an

⁸⁴The brigantine *Speedwell* struck the Bar at the entrance to Charleston Harbour in a gale. The crew continued by ship's boat carrying Garth's letter and news of the Repeal motion. Issue of 13 May 1766, *South Carolina Gazette & Country Journal*, SCDAH.

⁸⁵Garth to Georgia, 2 June 1766, *GLB*, I, p. 222.

⁸⁶25 March 1766, *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁸⁷CCSC to Garth, 13 May 1766, WGP/10, Garth to CCSC, 9 July 1766, *GLB*, I, p. 247, and *Ibid.*, December 1766, p. 259.

Assembly Agent, but Virginia £500.⁸⁸ Special Agents received much less, Georgia £50 per annum for Garth's work on the Stamp Act. His Crown Agency for Georgia from 1762 to 1765, which he had to resign on entering Parliament, brought him £350 p.a.⁸⁹ During the short period from 1765-68, when he held three paid Assembly Agencies, his total annual sterling income from official sources could not have exceeded £600 plus some increment for expense outlays. After 1769 it reverted to £200 sterling from South Carolina, when honoured. It is not surprising to find that his cousin James Edward Colleton gave him a loan of £250 in 1767 to help meet the severe strain on his financial resources which his wife had so accurately forecast.⁹⁰

Garth presented the South Carolina petition of thanks to the King for repeal which gave great pleasure to ministers and a willingness in government to respond. By January 1767 the Supply Committee of the House arrived at a figure of £400,000 for the cost of land forces to be borne by the Colonies. It was rejected by a division. The Chancellor of the Exchequer promised alternative proposals which would not be too onerous to Britain or the Colonies. The improved climate suddenly changed with a petition to Parliament from New York to remove restrictions on commerce. It marked the moment when the deterioration in relations was never reversed. The opponents of appeasement saw the petition and a refusal to provide for British troops, "which had chagrined Administration exceedingly", as proof "that nothing will give satisfaction to the Colonists but an absolute repeal of all Regulations....and in the End Independence".⁹¹ Some of American's best friends now saw "the necessity...(of Parliament) interposing its authority with Vigour".⁹² Garth feared the consequences of the New York action and its effect on the

⁸⁸The salary figures do not agree with Mrs Garth's letters to Mrs Colleton quoting £400 for South Carolina. 8 May 1784, CGP M/1. Charles Garth's figures are more likely to be correct. Garth to Maryland, 14 February 1767, GLB, II, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁹"Charles Garth, Agent", p. 642.

⁹⁰CGP, unreferenced.

⁹¹Garth to CCSC, 12 March 1767, GLB, I, p. 270.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 271.

scheme to repeal the Paper Currency Act. He advised his Committee of the Ministry's argument over the new developments:

with what Propriety can Government give...support to an Indulgency for America when their requests to America are directly refused, how can they ask of Parliament a Measure at the request of America when at that very Time the Parliament have before them a refusal of Compliance with an Act of their own...It is not to be conceived how much we are unhing'd.⁹³

Garth saw the consequences might have a damaging effect on his own colonies, "I have taken every pains possible...to point out the peculiar hardships...upon the other Colonies who have....shown every mark of gratefull return".⁹⁴ Although he used the opinion of others to illustrate attitudes, the impression created is that Garth had some sympathy with the carefully quoted government view. He could have been seeking a reaction and direction before becoming too deeply committed on his constituents' behalf.

The long-awaited revenue measures for America were proposed in committee on 1 June 1767 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, including the 3d. per pound duty on tea, levies on a range of other goods and the establishment of a Customs House. Garth's efforts for the temporary removal of a duty on rice had been successful. His letter to announce the details was little more than a statement of fact and gave no sign of other concerns.⁹⁵ He confirmed Royal Assent to the Bill a month later. His tone was mildly critical, "it is said the Colonies will understand the Motive upon which the Measure was founded,...it must...render the Assembly of that Colony rather insignificant". His explanation of the reasons for lack of opposition were a little condescending, "the Measure was taken and the Friends of America are too far to have any share in a Struggle with the Chancellor...." Garth went on to suggest a way round the Paper Currency difficulties by issuing non-legal tender paper and ended by, "I don't

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 272-3.

⁹⁵Garth to Committee, 6 June 1767, *GLB*, I, pp. 276-280.

recollect to have any Thing more that is material to detain you with". His relaxed attitude and air of unconcern was untypical of his earlier responses. In his next letter of 17 August he even left the Assembly to determine an appropriate fee for his work in and out of the House on various pieces of legislation, including the Duty Act.⁹⁶ By July 1767 a model of Lord Chatham's statue had been completed. Garth's papers include a copy of the inscription, which ends:

Time shall sooner destroy this mark of their esteem than
erase from their minds the just sense of his patriotic
virtue.⁹⁷

During the first half of 1767 much of Garth's time was taken up in correspondence with Maryland. He coordinated their Agency business with Benjamin Franklin due to his "Knowledge...with the affairs of Maryland". Garth wrote to Maryland, "I have communicated to (Franklin) the footing upon which I have advised to put your Application", about money matters, "which he entirely approves".⁹⁸ He sought from Maryland the same measure of discretion "which the Province of Carolina have ever repos'd in me", to judge the best moment" of prosecuting (matters) or not, accordingly". He was not averse to a much stronger tone with Maryland over its method of business than with South Carolina. He may have felt in a stronger position to advise on procedure with a nominal Proprietary still in place and Lord Baltimore at its head in London. However, neither Maryland nor Georgia were sparing in their assurances of approbation for his year's work.⁹⁹ Garth offered to relinquish his Agency for Georgia if it would restore "Harmony and Concord" between the "several Branches of the Legislature". The Governor and Council were

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 284-8.

⁹⁷The statue was erected in the summer of 1770.

Having suffered various vicissitudes and moves, the plinth now in Orphan's Square, Charleston, no longer bears William Pitt. Sadly, in May 1988 he was to be found in disrepair amongst animated models of dinosaurs in the Charleston Museum. The wording of the inscription is more apt than the Assembly could have foreseen.

⁹⁸Garth to Maryland, 14 February 1767, *GLB*, II, pp. 5, 16, 13.

⁹⁹Garth to Maryland, 30 November 1767, *GLB*, II, p. 37 and Garth to Georgia, undated (c. mid 1767), *GLB*, II, p. 42.

opposed to him holding responsibility for two neighbouring colonies whose frontier interests were in conflict. Garth gave a stout defence of his record and impartiality, upholding an Assembly's right to appoint an Agent but accepting that Government would expect Councils to be a check against irregular nominations of agents by an Assembly. He again demonstrated a naive faith in his constituents' ability "to compensate for services to be done and Expences disbursed in consequence...I have no such difficulty about me, and shall not therefore hesitate to act..."¹⁰⁰ Garth did not shrink from advising Georgia that their "refusal to make any Provision for the King's forces gave very great Umbrage...and high indignation" to both Houses of Parliament. His comment could have weighted against his reselection. He was often to demonstrate a courageous impartiality in his "presentation of matters on which there was a difference of view between the colonies and the mother country".¹⁰¹ He appreciated that a judgement could only be made by his constituents if they knew of the existence and substance of an opposing view. Governor Wright directed the attention of the Assembly to the absurdity of employing the Agent of a province opposing Georgia over their mutual frontier, insisted on joint concurrence and forbade salary payment.

I have a good opinion of him (Garth)...indeed so good an opinion of him....as to think he will not Accept your Appointment and I did not mean to cast any reflection on him as you unfairly insinuate, but only meant to shew the absurdity of your conduct....This House has the highest opinion of his Merit, sincerity and abilities.

Had Garth been uncommitted "no man would have the unanimous consent of the people of Georgia for transacting this business in Great Britain in preference to Mr Garth".¹⁰² Governor Wright had an entirely reasonable

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 42-43, 50-52. (Pages misnumbered by typist. There are no pages 44-49.)

¹⁰¹Ella Lonn, *Colonial Agents*, p. 388.

¹⁰²Allen D. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 25 Vols, (Atlanta, 1904-16), XIV, p. 520, 2 February 1768 entry, Instruction to the Committee of Correspondence; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, 18 February 1768 entry.

argument. Garth resigned his post in favour of Benjamin Franklin with whom he had a friendly working relationship.

I have much satisfaction in observing the Restoration of Harmony and Concord in the Choice and Nomination of a Successor (Mr Franklin) whose Abilities and Character will Conduce equally to the Service and Humour of the Colony. I have...(seen) Mr Franklin...to assure him of my perfect satisfaction....¹⁰³

The new code of practice approved by the Board of Trade using Barbados precedent and requiring joint approval for Agency appointments by governor, Council and Assembly, also put Garth's Maryland appointment in jeopardy. His status was challenged by Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies and Plantations. An enquiry had endorsed the Barbados code and only constitutionally appointed Agents could receive business. Garth told Maryland:

I cannot help thinking that Agents for the Colonies are a sort of officers some people do not affect, and if once the system of refusing business but by Hands of Agents (constitutionally appointed as the phrase is) or of Governors, should be adopted by Minsters I can see plainly by what magic there will be either no Agent or an Inactive one, with the whole force of consequential security as well as for the purpose of carrying into Practice Measures which diligent...Opposition would impede at least...many troublesome Applications...not very pleasing to Administration.¹⁰⁴

Garth wrote his last letter to Maryland as an "unrecognised" Agent on 3 May 1769. He saw the consequences of restricting Agency activities, but the rules for their selection were justified. It is surprising that the use of Agents representing factional or minority interests had been so freely allowed and deferred to in the past. References have been made to the deterrent restrictions imposed on troublesome agents, but Garth does not record a single instance of obstruction by the Administration to his work.¹⁰⁵ Garth must have been as effective in the interests of his colonies

¹⁰³Garth to Georgia, 14 August 1768, *GLB*, II, p. 79.

¹⁰⁴Garth to Maryland, 1 March and 25 June 1768, *GLB*, II, pp. 67, 69, 71-73.

¹⁰⁵e.g. by historians. See Kammen, "Colonial Agents", *WMQ*, Vol XXII (1965), pp. 257-8.

of his colleagues. South Carolina was fortunate in acquiring an Agent able to obtain a parliamentary seat which gave some protection against discrimination.

A new atmosphere of resistance to American demands was evident at the opening session of parliament in November 1768. "The Propriety of the Repeal of the Stamp Act was attack'd, but Mr Burke in a very able speech supported that Measure". Recent events in Massachusetts had turned the House against "any Proposition for a Repeal of the Billeting Clause in the Mutiny Act". Referring to the basic causes of disagreement, Garth noted that,

at first a Distinction was attempted to be set up between Legislation and Taxation, yet from many papers published in America it now appears that Distinction was exploded by Men of understanding in the Colonies, and that the Objection to the Power of Parliament extended a great deal further.¹⁰⁶

To match the pace of events the Agents agreed to confer together weekly. If Garth's view of the situation was correct he had reason to say "I most sincerely lament that both Countries are reduced and thrown into this most unhappy dilemma".¹⁰⁷ Advice of an initiative by the government had reached Garth by 10 December 1768, "from what has fallen from Administration both in Parliament and Private Audiences, they seem very inclined to a Repeal of the late Duty Act". Hillsborough had the idea on first coming into office, but shortly after approval of the resolution by his colleagues an account arrived of "the Proceedings at Boston and also sundry Petitions to the King...claiming the sole Right of Taxation and questioning the Authority of Parliament...the King's Servants were then obliged to depart from their Plan".¹⁰⁸ Garth's view was that "if a Repeal of this Law can be obtained on any Ground, it would be a Right Measure for both countries and heal the Unhappy Breach subsisting". He felt that repeal of a second Revenue Act would make future legislators wary of

¹⁰⁶Garth to CCSC and Maryland, 11 November 1768, *GLB*, II, p. 86.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p. 85-86.

¹⁰⁸Garth to CCSC, 10 December 1768, *GLB*, II, p. 89.

imposing a third; opposition was not the passing fancy of a parliamentary faction as had been suggested after the repeal of the Stamp Act. The legislature had in mind the dissolution of Assemblies. The Lords passed down hostile resolutions to the Commons which they rejected having no desire "to enflame and to alienate the affections of the people there", which might be brought about "by pompous menacing expressions". It was said in Parliament, Garth remarked, that "America was but in the Predicament in which Ireland and Scotland had been". The measures proposed in the Commons were "deem'd...to hang out by an empty Terror and...offence to America and with all Delusion to ye people of England".

On 12 March 1769 Garth sent his South Carolina Committee a copy of a Joint Agents' petition which was to change the climate of mutual regard between them.¹⁰⁹ Garth advised that "the Agents have had sundry meetings to consider how far it might be practicable to promise a Repeal of the Duty Act without touching upon the matter of Right". Dr Franklin was asked by the Agents to prepare the draft "to be as near as might be to the sentiments of America, and yet not exceptionable at home". Garth did not appreciate the strength of feeling in South Carolina about the absolute necessity of including in petitions a pre-condition of "no taxation without representation".¹¹⁰ He was sensitive to the absence of:

Instruction or Authority from our Constituents. I had my difficulty of subscribing to it, but upon perusal and further Consideration both of the Petition and of your instructions to exert myself in conjunction with the Agents for the other Colonies to procure a Repeal, etc., it seemed to me that guarded as the Petition is in the wording nothing is waived, conceded or given up, but rather cautiously reserved...I thought myself under the general Recommendation you had transmitted to me to give my assent and approbation thereto:

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 95-97.

¹¹⁰Garth to CCSC, 12 March 1769, *GLB*, II, pp. 95-7; 20 November 1769, *Ibid.*, pp. 105-7.

L.B. Namier quoted a London merchant's views on colonial representation in Westminster. He cited as "forty" the number of Members of West Indies' birth or connections. (Namier forgot to include J.E. Colleton in trying to identify them.) The merchant said "If you don't like to trust your (American) concerns in their hands, pay your Members well and send them from your own Colonies". *England in the Age of the American Revolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1961), p. 234.

but the Agents for some of the Colonies to the Northward...thought it not right to afford...an undue Construction of Concession...but the Argument that had the most weight with me arose from the almost certainty that the desired success would not follow upon it, the leading Men in Parliament...would not consent to a Repeal this year.

Garth must have been surprised to receive the Committee's letter of 7 July 1769 but he acknowledged their rebuke on 20 November 1769 in a remarkably unconcerned manner. The Committee wrote:

Every Member (of the House was) ordered to attend upon that Occasion; when after the fullest consideration, it (the Agent's Petition) was unanimously disapproved of; because of the right of the Inhabitants of the Colonies to be taxed only by their own Representatives is not therein expressly Asserted...The Members of the last House...are extremely concerned...you should have thought yourself 'Warranted under the general Recommendation transmitted to you, to give your Assent and Approbation to that Petition'....When they desired you to 'exert your utmost Abilities in conjunction with the Agents of the other Colonies to procure a Repeal of the late Acts of Parliament so universally complained of by the Colonies', that you would thence think yourself at Liberty to consent to any Proposal or Petition, wherein the Right was not expressly asserted.¹¹¹

Garth's experience of concord with the Committee had led him to assume more latitude than his due. His self-confidence appeared to remain intact. Garth and his fellow Agents knew that the inclusion of a precondition in the form required by South Carolina would be unacceptable to the Crown and prevent a compromise.¹¹² He replied:

I have the sense of the House upon the Petition I sent you a copy of, which being so unanimously disapproved, it is a singular satisfaction to me that it went no further here; but after Petition had been rejected by the House...a Gentleman (Dr Franklin) of great Abilities and of known Zeal and Attachment to the Principle of Right in the Colonies had with Care and Caution prepared another Form of Application...it seemed to me that it would not become one to withhold my Assent.

¹¹¹CCSC to Garth, 7 July 1769, Garth Correspondence, SCHGM, Vol.. XXXI, pp. 59-61.

¹¹²Garth to CCSC, 5 February 1770, GLB, II, p. 110.

The Merchants Trading to America had begun to suffer the effects of the reduced state of commerce following duty impositions and were seeking reductions on specified articles. Similarly, the East India Company applied to have the duty on Tea removed on the grounds of "great detriment and prejudice in the present mode to the Interests of the Company". Merchant pressure was more likely to secure a relief in the prevailing circumstances than appeals or threats from America. Various causes of friction in South Carolina occupied Garth's attention. One matter of real consequence and implication was a dispute affecting the power to authorise the expenditure of public money and the method of debiting it. The Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina advised Lord Hillsborough on 8 December 1769 that the Assembly had instructed the Treasurer to advance £10,500 in local currency as a donation towards an organisation for "the support of the just and constitutional Rights and Liberties of the People of Great Britain and America". The Assembly had been incensed to receive a peremptory order issued on 14 April 1770, on the instructions of the Privy Council, forbidding them to order the issue of public money in such an illegal and unconstitutional manner.¹¹³ Due to the Assembly's practice of borrowing money temporarily from one Vote to meet a deficiency in another and the failure of the Lieutenant-Governor to inform the Assembly of his action in advising the Privy Council, a whole range of issues was involved. Not least was the questionable right of the Assembly to authorise expenditure. The Committee of Correspondence explained that the transfer of temporary credit between votes was common practice. They claimed a sole right to grant money in the same way as the House of Commons and its restriction to be an infringement of privilege. Garth was instructed to resolve the matter and to insist that the Governor should stop making known the proceedings of the Assembly to the Administration without sending the Assembly a copy of any representations about their content. Garth was instructed to arrange for the withdrawal of the Privy Council's instruction "which now puts a full

¹¹³*Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series) 1760-1783*, (London, HMSO, 1912), Vol. V, p. 229.

stop to the payment of Public Debts and the necessary provision for the expences of Government".¹¹⁴

In preparing a petition for revocation to the Privy Council Garth found evidence in the Journals that previous Assembly Acts implied that the three branches of legislature, Governor, Council and Assembly had to approve money bills in concert. There were occasions when the Assembly had assumed sole power, for instance after 1751 during the weak administration of Governor Glen. The Crown had given insufficient attention to internal constitutional struggles between the three elements of legislature when their powers could have been established. The Journals Garth had submitted to a preliminary hearing by the Board were cited against the Carolina petition; an entry of 12 March 1747 directed the Treasurer not to issue any money except under written orders of "the General Assembly, which can not mean of one House of Assembly only, and hence it was mentioned as a lately assumed power". There was no intention to censure the Assembly "for assuming a Power, but the exercise of the power...in the instances mentioned being without Authority". Garth considered revocation of the instruction unlikely.¹¹⁵ On 25 May 1771 the petition was dismissed by the Privy Council. Not surprisingly Garth received directions from South Carolina to renew his application.¹¹⁶ His previous report that the Board did not consider the Privy Council's instruction interfered "with the Privileges of the House in Originating Money Bills" met with irony from the Committee.¹¹⁷ Garth was able to advise them on 25 June 1772 that the King's Ministers had not "the remotest wish to interfere with the Privileges of the Commons House...their sole object had been to restore the Constitution in the Article of issuing money out of the Treasury". As the Privy Council instruction of April 1770 was inconsistent with "their privilege of originating a Money

¹¹⁴CCSC to Garth, 6 September 1770, WGP/16, and SCHGM, Vol. XXXI, (1930), pp. 244-46.

¹¹⁵Garth to CCSC, 27 March 1771, GLB, II, p. 140-41.

¹¹⁶CCSC to Garth, 10 April 1772, SCHGM, Vol. XXXIII (1932), pp. 136-38.

¹¹⁷GLB, II, pp. 156-58.

Bill, they (the House) are disposed to give way", subject to the passing of an Act "adopting the Provisions required to be permanent Law". If the constitutional method of "concurrence", the approval of Governor, Council and Assembly was restored it would be satisfactory to the King.¹¹⁸ Garth did not anticipate being able to obtain the entire recall of the 1770 Instruction. Renewal of the "Instruction", or an alternative Act which the Crown had proposed the Assembly should pass, was included as an item in the commission issued to Boone's successor, Lord Charles Montagu. His overbearing conduct, similar to but even more extreme than Boone's, caused his return to England in eighteen months. His behaviour towards the Speaker and Assembly was the main subject of the final two-way correspondence between Garth and South Carolina.

Garth would have been astonished to receive his Committee's letters of 30 October and 20 November 1772.¹¹⁹ On 9 November Montagu had first prorogued and then dissolved the Assembly on the grounds that the Speaker had removed journals from the House to conceal the minutes of the previous meeting of 29 October 1772 which he considered a "violent" report. Montagu endeavoured to stop an application to the Crown complaining of his maladministration and cautioned the Committee of Correspondence against writing to Garth on the grounds that they held no office consequent upon prorogation.¹²⁰ The Committee were of the opinion that the Governor had dissolved the Assembly to avoid the first reading of a draft tax bill. Garth sent the committee a draft of the petition of complaint he intended to send the King, asked for supporting affidavits and informed the Secretary of State. He reassured his constituents that "I shall not give way to any objection against my Authority, on account of a Prorogation". Lord Dartmouth assured Garth that a fully-documented petition would immediately be laid before the King. Garth promised to

¹¹⁸Garth to CCSC, 25 June 1772, *GLB*, II, p. 159.

¹¹⁹Garth to CCSC, 2 February 1773, *GLB*, II, pp. 166-9.

¹²⁰Some of his acts of maladministration may have been of a very minor nature. Assembly response was indicative of frustration with the home government. One issue was the amount of powder expended at the Governor's order on salutes to himself. CCSC to Garth, 27 March 1773, *SCHGM*, Vol. XXXIV (1932), p. 274.

"use my utmost endeavours to procure you the satisfaction you desire by a Removal (of the Governor) or by some mark of the Royal Displeasure". In pursuit of the historical background of taxation authority, Garth asked the Speaker for an authenticated copy of the bond entered into by public treasurers. A new Assembly was dissolved by Montagu on 1 January 1773 in a "fresh Instance of the Exercise of Prerogative in the Disapprobation of a Speaker in great Esteem throughout the Province".¹²¹ The Assembly had refused the Governor's request to elect a replacement for Speaker Lowndes. Montagu decided to return home on leave and the complaint against him was deferred until his arrival. At a meeting with Lord Dartmouth, Garth advised him about the Assembly's objections to the Privy Council's Instruction of 1770. Garth "verily believed, the Act required to be passed (by the Crown) would never be complied with".¹²² Dartmouth also told Garth he thought it offensive of the Assembly to insist on the King's representative (Governor) having to give assent to an unjustifiable application of public money to the supporters of a Bill of Rights.

It is easy to assume that fault for the crisis all lay with Montagu but his defence was never heard. The Assembly and Speaker Lowndes were practiced in the technique of removing and discrediting governors or reducing the authority of less determined ones. Crises with strong governors were usually caused by their over-reaction to some real or imagined provocation by Assembly leaders, for example in the cases of Colleton and Boone. Boone and Montagu, his successor, gave and received short shrift. Both departures followed confrontations which may have been partially contrived or exaggerated and both tried to reassert the authority of the Crown by displays of hostility. Boone had prejudiced the new Governor's authority in advance, but the Crown had given Montagu an impossible task by renewing the Instruction of 1770 in the climate of incipient revolt. Before Montagu's resignation the government had already decided to appoint Lord William Campbell, brother of the Duke of Argyll,

¹²¹Garth to CCSC, 25 February 1773, *GLB*, II, pp. 170-72.

¹²²*Ibid.*, p. 172.

in Montagu's place.¹²³ Garth was anxious, in Campbell's temporary absence, to acquaint him about the "stumbling block" of the "Instruction" in order "that he may co-operate with me and exert his interest to secure a removal thereof".¹²⁴

Garth now became a hostage to the Assembly's cause in their defence of a principle rejected on legal grounds by the administration. Perhaps out of pique at their dilemma, the Assembly informed him that as a result of the "Instruction" they were unable to pay his long overdue salary. This situation would continue until their House was granted the sole right to distribute the money of their constituents. They entreated the relief of the Province from the distress caused by the "Instruction".¹²⁵ The impasse could only be resolved by a loss of face on the part of the Assembly by agreeing to accept the approval of money bills by Governor and Council or an exception being made by the Privy Council to the constitutional practice of tricameral approval. The Assembly's objections were rooted in their hundred year battle with the authority of nominated governors and councils initiated by the predominantly Barbadian Goose Creek faction shortly after the first settlements. Garth had done his best to redress the grievance which he was to show contravened their own Assembly law in two important respects. He had little chance of reaching an accommodation. The failure to pay his salary was an unreasonable and spiteful act against a faithful and respected servant. There were alternative ways of meeting their commitment to Garth. It was an act for which Henry Laurens, for one, was ashamed. In the nature of the man and with dignity, Garth did not complain. He acknowledged their letter, thanked them for their approbation and "would ever be happy to promote the Interest and welfare of the Province to the utmost of my Power".¹²⁶ He was deprived of almost his entire income, but continued to finance the legal and other expenses on the colony's behalf. Due to some

¹²³Garth to CCSC, 3 April 1773, *GLB*, II, p. 174.

¹²⁴Garth to CCSC, 20 May 1773, *GLB*, II, p. 178.

¹²⁵1 April 1773, WGP/17.

¹²⁶5 July 1773, *GLB*, II, p. 180.

communications with the colony by-passing him, Garth pointed out to his Committee that he was not even aware of the full circumstances of the

heated Discussions between the two Houses of Assembly...fomented by the Continuance of the Instructions of 1770; and that subsisting Differences between the several Branches of Legislature could not be for the interest of His Majesty's Government, inasmuch as they obstruct and impede all publick Measures....I cannot learn what is or has been in Agitation relative to this Instruction, and I doubt if anything will be officially communicated to me upon that Subject.¹²⁷

South Carolina was wounding its best friends in a reaction of helpless frustration.

Garth's pursuit of legal niceties, or perhaps suspicion, had led him to the discovery that the Assembly's case for switching money between votes was based on fallacy. They had neither precedent for sole approval of money expenditure nor the right to debit funds as convenient.

The Charge of a Claim of Right by the House of Assembly to take and apply at their own Pleasure Moneys out of the Treasury that had been appropriated to other Purposes is inconsistent with the Tenor of the Bond...The Public Treasurer must be merely a public Creditor...as any other Person for Moneys advanced upon Votes of Credit.¹²⁸

The truth is often unwelcome and may be the reason that Garth had received one of the last letters from his Committee.¹²⁹ On 16 September 1773 they advised that the self-styled Upper House were committing members of the Assembly for contempt. The Assembly informed Garth that they had refused to pass a bill to contribute £100,000 assessed against the colony for the defence of Charleston.¹³⁰ Retaliation against the "Instruction" had become endemic.

¹²⁷ 13 November 1773, *GLB*, II, p. 181.

¹²⁸ Garth to CCSC, 5 July 1773, *GLB*, II, p. 179.

¹²⁹ There may have been other letters from the Committee, but I can find no reference to any in Garth's correspondence or elsewhere.

¹³⁰ Their letter of 25 March 1774 is not referenced in *Laurens' Papers*, Vol IX, Appendix A, p. 774, but a short précis is in WGP/19. Garth also mentions a letter of 7 February 1775 in his of 5 April 1775.

Garth continued his efforts to have the Instruction withdrawn. The most promising courses were for the new Governor not to have the Instruction of 1770 included with his commission and an address to the King from the Council, asking confirmation that they were adjudged a part of the legislature of South Carolina, to fail. Mr Dunning, KC, was briefed by Garth on behalf of the Assembly, but considered it "difficult to maintain that the Council were not a Branch of the Legislature".¹³¹ The first royal governor's commission had also imparted "a Legislative Authority in the Council" on which he sat. Even in the time of the Proprietary "a Council existed in a legislative capacity".¹³² The Privy Council could not proceed without the Council's journals and these had not been received before the King's message to both Houses of Parliament on 11 March 1774 about forthcoming measures, in the words of Lord North, "to put a stop to the outrageous and violent Proceedings which had taken place, particularly in Boston".¹³³ The Committee were advised about the thoughtful action of Henry Laurens in offering Garth financial support.

I cannot omit to mention to the Committee the polite Civility I have received from Colonel H. Laurens, who came to acquaint me that he had heard from some Person rather free in their Observations upon the Orders transmitted by the Assembly to their Agent to engage in Controversies of Expence without Remittances to support the same, and that he beg'd I would give him leave to furnish me with £500 or £1,000 upon Account of the Province: I return'd Mr Laurens my thanks for this mark of his attention to me and to the Province, but having no difficulty myself touching a ready and full Compliance with the Order receiv'd, and to carry into effectual execution, I must decline this obliging Offer, choosing to be and to remain among the number of Public Creditors.¹³⁴

¹³¹Garth to CCSC, 27 December 1773, *GLB*, II, pp. 182-85.

¹³²Garth to CCSC, 19 January 1774, *GLB*, II, p. 188.

¹³³Garth to CCSC, 15 March 1774, *GLB*, II, p. 193. This is the last of Garth's letters in the typewritten copy of his own Letter Books in the Haines Hill archive. Citations of his few later letters are for copies in the possession of SCDAH.

¹³⁴Garth to CCSC, 11 March 1774, *GLB*, II, p. 192. John Laurens, son of Colonel Laurens and future ADC to General Washington was in London at this time. He reported to his father in December 1764 Lord Hillsborough's virulence and rancour against the Americans: "We have cherished a viper in our bosom which is stinging us to death." *Laurens Papers*, Vol. IX, pp. 646-7.

Again Garth's pride would not allow him to reduce his increasing debt in the cause of his constituents. Having given the Committee a reminder of their obligation he advised them that Lord William Campbell had promised to use his utmost endeavours to procure the relief of the 1770 Instruction¹³⁵

The committee wrote on 25 March 1774 to thank Garth on behalf of the House of Assembly for his work, particularly over their difficulties with the Council.¹³⁶ It was probably the penultimate letter he received from the Committee; a brief conclusion to his years of painstaking work.¹³⁷ He continued to send news bulletins containing national events in Parliament and Government, but had no response. The feeling in Parliament during 1774 was that repeal of the Duty Act would be an absolute relinquishment of the supremacy of Parliament.¹³⁸ Garth's 1775 letters are of great interest and relevance in the context of continental politics, especially his references to the final pre-revolution communications of the Grand Continental Congress and Benjamin Franklin, who tried to reach him to present their December 1774 petition to the King. Garth condemned the Congress as illegal. There was some lofty rhetoric on general issues, but little which was specific to Carolina.¹³⁹ However, it was agreed that Governor Lord William Campbell should not take the Instruction of 1770 to Charleston as part of his commission.¹⁴⁰ He was given new instructions to replace the 1770 order amounting to an injunction not to allow the passage of any money bill which had not received "concurrent" or tricameral approval.¹⁴¹ This gave no hope of compromise as no decision had yet been made by the Privy Council on the legislative validity of the

¹³⁵Garth to CCSC, 11 March 1774, GLB, II, p. 193.

¹³⁶25 March 1774, WGP./19.

¹³⁷Garth mentions a letter of 7 February 1775 which I have not seen referenced elsewhere; Garth to CCSC, 5 April 1775, f. 195; SCDAH.

¹³⁸Garth to CCSC, 20 April 1774, f. 170; SCDAH.

¹³⁹Garth to CCSC, 20 and 24 January 1775, ff. 184, 186, 7, 18, 21 February 1775, ff. 187, 190-92; SCDAH.

¹⁴⁰Garth to CCSC, 30 April 1774, f. 171; SCDAH.

¹⁴¹Garth to CCSC, 14 July 1774, f. 178; SCDAH.

South Carolina Council. The issue of the Assembly's sole right to approve money bills had echoes in the larger issue of taxation and representation. South Carolina's dispute was symptomatic, on a provincial scale, of the national resentment and equally emotive. On 5 April 1775 Garth offered all the means in his power to procure redress or relief to the Province despite obvious difficulty, and sent his final letter, unwittingly, on 27 May after the outbreak of hostilities in America. A last comment referred to the end of the current session in Parliament but had perhaps more significance than he appreciated: "I shall probably have little more to trouble you with for some time".¹⁴² The question of the Assembly's authority was to remain unresolved by the Privy Council.

Garth maintained his loyalty to Carolina to the last possible moment, without rancour and despite the neglect of their obligation to him. Only Henry Laurens can be absolved from a share of their obligation. His own standards of loyalty made the hurt deeper. Writing much later, on 8 May 1784, Garth's wife recalled the end of his association with South Carolina:

Poor Mr Garth lost his Agency of South Carolina upon the breaking out of the War in America. All this threw him into infinite distress, for there was two years of sallery in arrear due to him, besides great expenses incurred on account of these people, and by their orders, all unpaid to this hour.¹⁴³

As his agency ended, and his loyalty to South Carolina was under great strain, Charles Garth twice expressed to his Committee his admiration for the ideals and oratory his colleague Edmund Burke. Burke's speech to Parliament on 22 March 1775 had a special relevance for South Carolina.¹⁴⁴ It summed up the reasons for one contributory factor in its long struggle against authoritarianism.

Where slavery is established...those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom...liberty looks among them like something that is more noble and liberal. Thus the people of the Southern Colonies are much more

¹⁴²Garth to CCSC, 27 May 1775, f. 195-97, SCDAH.

¹⁴³Mrs Garth to Mrs J E Colleton, 8 May 1784, CGP M/1.

¹⁴⁴"One of the most eloquent and able speakers that I ever heard debate in Parliament." Garth to CCSC, 25 March 1775, SCDAH.

strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the Northward.¹⁴⁵

Garth has earned his own admirers for his selfless, generous and dedicated application on behalf of South Carolina and America, especially for his astonishing output of work. Of all the agents Edmund Burke and Charles Garth were outstanding champions of America.¹⁴⁶ Garth's punishing routine on its behalf had taken a heavy toll of his strength.¹⁴⁷ In 1778 he received some support from a small government pension and in 1780 became a Commissioner for Excise. He sold his house in Devizes and moved to Walthamstow. His wife described to Mrs Colleton his relief at finding a secure post:

My poor Mr Garth was unfortunate in his promise to me (not to stand for Parliament), for a long time thought himself so, but was just attained to the summit of his wishes when he gained his appointment at the Board of Excise, where he thought the means of rectifying all mistakes would amply compensate for hazards past, and looked with pleasure to the prospect of providing for his family, and being able to place them above want. But he had not cleared the incidental expenses of this new arrangement, when it pleased Almighty God to call him out of this life, by the most painful disease of body and mind that ever was seen, or known to last for so long a period. My anxiety and fatigues were unparalleled.¹⁴⁸

Garth died in 1784, aged 50, leaving his widow without funds and a young family of six to maintain.¹⁴⁹ She related her circumstances to Mrs Colleton:

Before he was buried, General and Major Garth thought it right to check over all the papers...but upon their looking

¹⁴⁵*Speeches and Letters in American Affairs*, (London: Dent, 1961), p. 94. (No editor indicated.)

¹⁴⁶Ella Lonn, *Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies*, p. 389.

¹⁴⁷See Appendices Q, R, for an analysis of his agency letters to America. There is also his official and private correspondence to take into account, both abroad and in Great Britain, which could have quadrupled the volume. All official letters had to be copied for reference, some twice when duplicates were sent to other agencies.

¹⁴⁸Mrs Garth to Mrs J E Colleton, 8 May 1784, CGP M/1.

¹⁴⁹The eldest son James was then sixteen, the younger sons six and three. The eldest daughter of seventeen was found a place in the Royal Household; a second died young and the third was to die in 1788.

into the papers they soon acquainted me that the two thousand pounds was spent. I felt the blow severely, it seemed an injury (with?) nothing left to apprentice six children to a trade! Poor man, his preamble to his will declared his distress and affirmed this fact...there was no more than one hundred and fifty pounds a year to maintain myself and six children in all things, to find a house, rent, food, raiment and education....Yet it was something, and on the death of Mr Garth's mother my jointer would be made good and something come to my oldest son as now understood. In a few days...a friend of the family in the law line, told me that it was his opinion I had no claim under those articles, that some form had been omitted which in law was necessary, therefore the £150 a year went to my eldest son....I had not the smallest claim and everything of Personals was liable to the payment of the debts which must take the whole of what there was....,and a bond of debt to the amount of upwards of £300 which I did not know of till within a week past....could my unfortunate case move the King to grant me a pension and the consideration that Mr Garth had not enjoyed his place long enough to gain the smallest advantages, and that he served in Parliament so many years and acquitted himself on various publick concerns with usefulness, integrity and honour, might move a plea in favour of his unfortunate family, I would hope. I would...endeavour by the strictest economy and care to breed up my poor children, and save up if possible a little. Were it but little that each might have something, but his is looking forward indeed in the state of health I am now in. Pardon me my Dear Madam for giving you the trouble of decyphering this sad scroll, and I must rely on your goodness to excuse the manifold imperfections of, my Dearest Madam,

Your unfortunate, but
grateful and affectionate
Humble servant
F. Garth.¹⁵⁰

From the early conclusion of Garth's career it took nineteen years for the aspirations of his widow to be completely fulfilled in the form of bequests from the estate of James Edward Colleton and his wife Frances, the recipient of Frances Garth's letter.¹⁵¹ Charles Garth's second son, also Charles, inherited Haines Hill and the Barbados property in 1805. Except for his American estate, the residual wealth of Governor James Colleton was thus transferred to Charles Garth's sons.

¹⁵⁰Mrs Garth to Mrs J E Colleton, 8 May 1784, CGP M/1.

¹⁵¹James Edward's will, dated 1773, is in HHA, (unreferenced).

Charles was succeeded by his brother Thomas, a Post Captain in the Royal Navy. In 1837 Captain Thomas was left the Boone fortune by his childless second cousin Harriet Drummond, daughter of Charles Boone M.P., Garth's sponsor for the Carolina Agency, and niece of Governor Thomas Boone. Charles Garth's devotion and generosity to the interests of South Carolina received a deferred reward. No outcome could have been more appropriate or bountiful except tangible recognition by his constituents during his lifetime.

PART 7

The End of the Colonial Era

Chapter 13 - The Colleton Contribution : Conclusions

Chapter 13

The Colleton Contribution : Conclusions

There were many similarities between South Carolina and other American colonies. South Carolina was settled, initially, by a single transatlantic expedition from England. The small fleet was reinforced, en route, by the island colony of Barbados. During the mid-seventeenth century Barbados had the reputation and prestige of being England's richest overseas possession. The high content of Barbadians in the early migrations and the support facilities provided by the island enabled the first settlements in Carolina to become established. The quality of self-reliance was more highly developed in a colonial population which had already rehearsed anti-proprietary and anti-authoritarian activities than in settlers leaving their homeland for the first time. It would be surprising if Barbadian political experience had not at first been predominant in South Carolina. The affiliations and interests of Barbadian settlers remained undiluted in South Carolina for many years.

Sir John Colleton I recognised the opportunity of Carolina as an alternative to Barbados for plantation settlement. At the Restoration he motivated and joined other royalists to obtain the charter for Carolina from Charles II, identified and overcame a challenge to their proprietorship and planned the early reconnaissance settlements in conjunction with his sons. The claim is made from the evidence presented that Sir John and Sir Peter gave more tangible support to the creation and reinforcement of the new province than any other two Proprietors. They sustained it from concept to the achievement of commercial stability.

Sir Peter earned, but has not been given, a prominent place among colonial entrepreneurs of the seventeenth century. He has received some attention in the context of Barbados and South Carolina history but the brief vignettes are usually disparate and individual. A biography has not been attempted. He has not been given comprehensive attention as a merchant adventurer, politician, administrator, colonial advisor or investor. His place in colonial history becomes apparent when the roles

are amalgamated. He was honoured in his own time as a fellow of the Royal Society but his role has not been properly identified since. After Lord Craven, Peter Colleton made the longest single contribution to the work of the Proprietary. It covered twenty-seven years, almost the whole of his adult life, during Carolina's formative period. It was probably also the greatest contribution and he gave the Proprietary his consistent attendance when he was not in Barbados. Shaftesbury is the only alternative candidate. Craven took an active part as Palatine but late in his long life and would not be a valid contender. Shaftesbury's leadership was vital, but spasmodic. The period of his close involvement was much shorter than Sir Peter's. Like Colleton he was never Palatine, the role of Chairman being awarded in seniority of years. His other commitments and imprisonments prevented exclusive attention and continuity.

Shaftesbury depended on Peter Colleton to give effect to settlement policy. He also provided the evidence of Sir Peter's level of responsibility in the Carolina venture after the death of his father, Sir John.¹ The weight of correspondence to Peter Colleton from settlement officials cited in Chapters 5 and 6 confirms this perception of his authority. Shaftesbury is given the credit for early leadership by his biographer but his main enterprise in proprietary office was the un-adopted constitution of Carolina.² The various versions of the Fundamental Constitutions, which he and John Locke originated, were the cause of provocation and dispute rather than cohesion. Constitutional conflict with the Assembly became a feature of politics in South Carolina. Anti-authoritarianism was endemic from the earliest days with intermittent checks to the increasing power of the House of Assembly. From the first challenges to the Proprietary the move towards independence in the ninety years of colonial rule was inexorable.

If the initiative of Sir John Colleton in obtaining the charter and organising with his sons the preliminary exploration of Carolina is added

¹"We two having the great care of this business." Lord Ashley to Joseph West, 27 April 1671, in Locke's hand, CSCHS, p. 317.

²K.H.D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

to Sir Peter's work, father and son take their place as the main and consistent motive force in the establishment of the province. In Barbadian affairs, Sir Peter's influence and experience gave him a special position as advisor to the Administration above the head of the governor.

Although less obvious than his other actions, Governor James Colleton helped to create a sound plantation economy during his short stay in Carolina and was one of the planters responsible, feasibly as the pioneer, for the early encouragement of the rice industry. He was highly competitive, like his brother Sir Peter, but not always in a complimentary context. Their brother Thomas, "Chief Agent" of the Carolina Proprietors in Barbados, provided the early trading link essential for marketing the produce of Carolina, sustained the first Ashley River settlement, and organised the recruitment and trans-shipment of emigrants.

Joseph Boone was the only Dissenter Republican associated with the Colleton family. He was largely responsible for preventing Anglican exclusion of non-conformists from the government of South Carolina. He alerted the British government to the vulnerability of the southern flank of the American colonies to French attack and continental encirclement. He received credit from the South Carolina Assembly for achieving the first royal governorship and the end of the Proprietary established by the ancestors of his nephew and heir Thomas Boone.

Governor Thomas Boone challenged the Assembly's election law, perhaps out of pique. He lost the confrontation with an equally determined Assembly conditioned to opposing authority and any infringement of their representative prerogative. It was left to another descendant of Sir John Colleton I and a first cousin of Boone's to make a final and major contribution of similar importance to the founders in terms of commitment.

The failure of the Crown to recognise the Assembly's constitutional prerogative became the main reason for South Carolina's disenchantment and an intractable problem for their Agent, Charles Garth. His performance during an outstanding agency career was underestimated and inadequately acknowledged. He dedicated his adult life to the pursuit of compromise and harmony between Great Britain and America. His work

as a moderating influence during the disruption of the First British Empire is worthy of greater recognition than it enjoys. His function was crucial during the pre-revolutionary controversy which was to have a cataclysmic effect on modern civilisation.

Charles Garth was the last member of his family to exercise an influence on colonial South Carolina. From the grant of the 1663 Charter, through its development as one of the most sophisticated and advanced colonies in North America, the Colleton family had played a pivotal role.³ For over one hundred years they had occupied key positions of influence and power in the determination of Carolinian and Barbadian policy. After their sustained efforts to assist in the establishment of South Carolina it could be said that Sir Peter's prophecy to John Locke of 28 May 1673 had virtually materialised: "No doubt if we hold our ground but Carolina will excell all other English plantations."⁴

³By 1775 Charleston had become one of the largest and richest towns in British North America. See Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 146-7.

⁴CSCHS, p. 423.

Appendix A

Summary of Incomplete Colleton Deeds in Barbados 1647 - 1694

Source: RB. 3 (Deeds and Administrations), Records of Barbados, Barbados Archive, Bridgetown, Barbados.

| Plantation | Date | RB. 3 Ref. | Location | Acreage or Item | Bought by | Bought of | Cost | Remarks |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------------|---|--------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Colleton Leeward Plantation | 17/7/1647 | 2.116 | St. Peter Six Men's | 90 + Tenement and outhouse | John I | G. Rowe, Milbrook, Cornwall ex Keet. | £10 and 24,000 lb tobacco | Fustic grown, suitable for sugar, etc. |
| | 26/5/1651 | 3.879 | St. Peter? next sea | 10 | " | P. Keet | - | Samuel Rolleston in occupation |
| | 17/5/64 | 2.762 | St. Peter next 2.116 | 5 | " | M. Fowler | - | " |
| | 28/7/1658 | 5.747 | St. Lucy Colleton to S.W. | 12 | " | P. Bray | 6,621 lbs | Rolleston management |
| | 6/11/1659 | 5.644 | St. Lucy next church | 61 | " | Woodhouse ex Pickering | - | " |
| | 20/4/1660 | 5.775 | St. Peter/St. Lucy | 1/4 of 200 acres and buildings, stock, 24 men negroes, 34 negro women, 16 negro children, 12 Christian servants, 5 geldings and mares, 14 assinigoes, 33 cattle. Plus 1/4 of 61 acres (5.644) without stock. Total 261 acres. | S. Rolleston | John I | 2 shillings | Part of a protective partnership arrangement, before Sir John's return to England. Deeds to 1665 should total 311 acres. |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|----------|----|---|---|--|
| 20/7/1660 | 5.749 | St. Lucy | 13 | S. Rolleston ex Bullock and Saunders | 6,500 lbs sugar (as paid by Rolleston) | Bought by Rolleston 3 1/2 years previously. |
|-----------|-------|----------|----|---|---|--|

St. Peter/St. Lucy - Acreage Reconciliation based on Sir John's 1665 Settlement Deed

| Deed | Shown Above to 1665 | *Missing Deeds |
|------|---------------------|----------------|
|------|---------------------|----------------|

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|
| St. Peter | | 105 |
| St. Peter and St Lucy | 250 | 95 |
| St. Lucy | 61 | 86 |
| | 311 | 191 |
| | | 120 |

*Probably mainly St. Peter

| Plantation | Date | RB. 3 Ref. | Location | Acreage or Item | Bought by | Bought of | Cost | Remarks |
|------------------------------|------------|-------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Colleton Windward Plantation | 9/1653 | 3.877 | St. John next 2.776, 2.609 | 44 | S. Rolleston | F. Jarman | 20,000 lbs. sugar | |
| | 13/10/1653 | 2.609 | St. John | 60 (Lease to 1668) | " | Church (G. Marten) | - | Marten of Martin's Bay? |
| | 13/3/1654 | 2.690 | St. John next 2.609 | 1 1/2 | " | M. House | 400 lbs. sugar | |
| | 20/5/1654 | 2.776 SE of 2.609 | St. John | 25 | " | J. Pococks Execs. | 12,000 lbs. sugar | |
| | 1/3/1655? | 7.325 | Christ Church/St George | 60 | John I | W. Sealy | - | |

| Plantation | Date | RB. 3 Ref. | Location | Acreage or Item | Bought by | Bought of | Cost | Remarks |
|------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|---|--------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Colleton Windward Plantation | 30/7/1656 | 5.737 | St. John Estwicks Bay Lease to 1687 | - | " | R. Estwick | - | J C to erect store wharf and crane. Access and share agreed 20/4/1660. |
| | 8/12/1656 | 3.19 | St. John Below cliff next Dickinson and Hatches River. | 50 | " | Capt. Thomas Hothersall | - | |
| | 26/9/1657 | 5.738 | St. John | 28 (Lease to 1664) | " | G. Lome (?) | - | |
| | c. 1660 | 5.740 | St. John next church | 60 (21 year lease) | " | Church | 2,000 lbs sugar per year | 8 year balance of lease on 2.609 given up. 55 acres stated in HHA D/4 |
| | 20/4/1662 | 3.343 | St. John next Codrington, Sweet and Cliff | 56 | " | Wolfe | - | |
| | 7/11/1674 | 9.259 | St. John | 10 | Thomas | Peter | - | |
| | 9/1/1679 | 10.198 | ? | ? | J. Witham | Thomas | | |
| | 19/1/1681 | 14.477 | - | - | - | Thomas | | Sale of parcels of land. |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |

| Plantation | Date | RB. 3 Ref. | Location | Acreage or Item | Bought by | Bought of | Cost | Remarks |
|------------|---|---------------|--|--|---------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| | 26/3/1686 Sir John's Deed of Settlement HHA, D/4 due to vest Spring 1688 | 16.312 | Legal title to inventory of non-land purchases | Agreement between : Peter, Thomas & James | - | | | Agreement between brothers to meet costs of plantation in common in proportion to their interest. Plantation in common, but divided in right. Title to stock, etc, on death might be difficult to decide so stock added to remain in common. |
| Misc | 3/1/1692 | 16.456 | Fort Bay | 20 and House | | W. Fletcher Peter (son of St. Philip of Thomas) | £200 | Sold to stepfather-in- law. |
| | 13/1/1692 | 16.455 | | 2 slaves | | " | £15 | Reversion to Kathleen Colleton (Rice) so long as she remained unmarried. |
| | 23/3/1692 | 19.515 | St. John | - | Walker Colleton | John Meade (uncle) | Annuity £200 for 100 years. | |
| | 13/7/1694 | 19.51 | St. John Estwick Bay and path to church and market | 11 | James | C. Estwick | 10 shillings and £20 secured. | Lease 5.737 having expired. |
| | 20/8/1694 | 19.272 | St. John | 14 | R. Marshall Med. Prac. | Peter (son of Thomas) | £190 | |

St John (incl. Christchurch/St. George) - Acreage Reconciliation based on Sir John's 1665 Settlement Deed

| | Deed | Shown Above to 1665 | Missing Deeds |
|---------------|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Above Cliff | 360 | 186 ¹ / ₂ | 173 ¹ / ₂ |
| Below Cliff | 90 | 50 | 40 |
| Leased | - | (60) | - |
| Totals | 450 | 236¹/₂ | 213¹/₂ |

| Plantation | Date | RB. 3 Ref. | Location | Acreage or Item | Bought by | Bought of | Cost | Remarks |
|--|-----------|------------|----------|--|-----------|-------------|-------------|--|
| Henry Colleton Merchant. Possibly younger brother of Sir John. See Visitations, p. 218. No other record. | 20/7/1654 | 2.767 | - | 7/8ths of ship St. Lewis 80 tons | HC | John Parnes | | |
| | 8/1655 | 3.818 | - | 2 Christians servants, 1 negro woman, Susannah. 1 negro girl, Bess. 1 servant, 2 negroes. Black store horse. | HC | J. Burrows | See remarks | John Stone. James Pessu. Void if Burrows pays ? (indecipherable) |
| | 14/9/1655 | 3.1 | - | 3 negroes | HC | J. Burrows | See remarks | Peter, Cesar, Bess. Void if Burrows pays 2,500 lbs. sugar. |

Appendix B

Summary of Sir John Colleton Ts

Deed of Settlement: 14 September 1665

The Trust received all his Barbados property for 1,000 years, the Trustee's succession being maintained by their survivors. All the income went to Sir John for his lifetime. The property comprised 450 acres in St John's; 360 acres above the Cliff and 90 acres below near Hatches River (where there was once a water-mill for processing indigo); a three-quarters' interest in 250 acres in St Peter's and 61 acres near St Lucy's Church; an unexpired lease of 55 acres from St John's Vestry, and 84 square feet of land (with storehouse and crane) next to the wharf at Estwick's Bay (now Bath); and finally a right of way from the bay to the Colleton property.

On Sir John's death Peter was to enjoy the properties for 21 years (to 1688) making specified payments. If he died or failed to make these payments, Thomas, then John, then James would hold the property for the balance of the 21 years. At the end of the 21 years Peter and his heirs would enjoy one-half of the property and the other three brothers a sixth part each. Peter was to arrange for Lady Colleton to receive £100 per annum for life, one-half of the remainder per annum to himself, one-sixth to his brothers during their lifetimes and thereafter to their heirs. If Thomas refused to manage the estates from Christmas 1666 to Christmas 1668, or John from 1668 to 1672 without dispensation from Sir John or his widow, all payments to them would become void. Furthermore, if the rightful heir would not perform the Trust the portion due to him would go to the remainder equally. None of the brothers was allowed to dispose of his interests within the 21-year period and to do so would mean forfeiture.

Source: HHA D/4.

Appendix C

Colleton Lands Surveyed 1672-1684 but not recorded in CSPC: not necessarily taken up within time limit for development (See Table 5 for Land Recorded in CSPC)

Key: NS - Area not specified
LP - Lords Proprietors

| Date | Acres | Place | Peter | Tho | Tho & Co | Jas | Reference |
|-------------|-------------|---|-------|-----|-------------|-----|---|
| 21/5/1672 | 160 | N S | X | X | | X | p.3 . |
| 21/5/1672 | 3,000 | West of Gray and Foster | X | X | | X | p.4 See Culpepers map |
| 29/6/1672 | 50 | West of Owens | X | X | | X | p. 16 See Culpepers map |
| 3/6/1678 | 2 Town Lots | Oyster Point | X | | | | p. 164 |
| 10/6/1678 | 1 Town Lot | Oyster Point | | | | X | p.170 |
| 13/7/1678 | 1 Town Lot | Oyster Point | | X | | | p.171 |
| 7/9/1678 | 570 | N S, but at least | | | X | | See No. 8 on |
| 7/9/1678 | 1,000 | one site on | | | X | | Gascoynes Map |
| 7/9/1678 | 4,000 | Goose Creek | | | X | | p. 176 |
| 31/1/1679 | 600 | N S | | | | X | p. 217 |
| (20/2/1679 | 4,423 | Probably Mulberry (CSPC 77/80, 1249) | X | | | | p. 209) |
| 14/11/1680 | 1,000 | N S | X | X | | X | p. 231 |
| 14/11/1680 | N/S | N S | X | X | | X | p. 232 |
| 14/11/1680 | 1,000 | N S | X | X | | X | p. 232 |
| 14/11/1680 | 1,000 | N S | X | X | | X | pp. 232-3 |
| (14/11/1680 | 12,000 | Probably Wadboo (CSPC 81/85, 879) | | | | | pp. 233, 236) |
| 25/2/1684 | 200 | Precinct lot in Colleton Co. | X | | | | p. 355. 6,000 acres granted by LP 10/5/1682 |
| 25/2/1684 | Town Lot | London (later Willtown) | X | | | | p. 357 |
| 25/2/1684 | 800 | Part of LP 6,000 acre grant 10/5/1682 Colleton Co. | X | | | | p. 358 |

Source: Page references are from A.S. Salley, ed., revised by R. Nicholas Oldberg, *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina, 1672-1711*, (University of South Carolina Press for SCDAH, 1973).

Culpepers and Gascoynes Maps - See table of illustrations.



Landgrave's patent for James Colleton, issued by Lord John Berkeley, Palatine, and dated 16 March 1671, giving the right to claim 48,000 acres. Signed by Lords Berkeley, Craven, Ashley, Sir George Carteret and Sir Peter Colleton. Recorded in the Secretary's Office of Carolina, 1 September 1683. (On 2 April 1679 the Governor and Council ordered the Survey of a Barony. Grant of 12,724 acres recorded by the Proprietary as 14 August 1683 (Wadboo). Quitrent due 29 September 1689 @ 1d. per acre .) *Reproduced by permission of Alan Godsall. HHA (unreferenced), framed.*
(*Photograph J. E. Buchanan*)

Appendix E

(Some abbreviations in this letter have been modernised to make reading easier)

From Governor Joseph West, Albemarle Point in Ashley River, to Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret and Sir Peter Colleton, 21 March 1671.

I have taken up for present planting about 300 Akers of ground. I have cleared this yeare about 30 Akers and built convenient Houses for ourselves & servants and Inclosed the Houses with Pallisadoes, which doth containe between 6 and 700 foote and have soe placed them that no Angle shall clear another soe that wee doe not feare all yet Indians that shall attempt us, which worke was all compleated before the Arriveall of the 2 ships. In the Carolina one Captain Godfrey arriued here from Barbadoes to manage Sir Peter Colletons Interest in your Partnership, who I believe to be a very honest man and a good Planter, I am very glad of his Assistance and doe hope wee shall answer your Honourable Expectacons. Wee intend to plant most of our ground this yeare with provisions, it being the life of a new settlement to provide in the first place for the belly. Wee haue already sowed Pease and planted some Indian Corne - and although I think it something too soone yet the pease doe thrive very well and some English Wheat which I sowed about 2 months before Christmas, and I believe yet English graine will agree very well with this soyle: Wee haue also planted Ginger and severall other things, and doe hope to make a full experiment this year of what comodities the Country will best produce. The winter here doth prove something sharpe and colde, soe that I feare this will not prove a Cotton Country,¹ but our new Commers like it very well, and say they believe it will produce any Comodities that the Charibbe Islands doe, as Cotton, Ginger, Indigo &c. and they haue written severall Letters to their friends in Barbadoes to encourage them to come, and I belive wilbe a meanes of drawing many to us in a short time: Our stock doth thrive very well especially Hoggs which doe increase very fast, being somewhat troubled with them this yeare by reason wee have not time to fence our planted grounds. The 4 Cowes I kept for ye use of your owne Plantacon, one them hath calved, and another is ready to calve, but they are very small Breed, and wilbe but little Proffit, except onley for stock. I am Informed that there is at New Yorke a very large Breed of Cattell, and that one Cow will give 2 gallos or more at a meal, halfe a dozen such Cowes would be a great helpe to our family; likewise Horses are there very cheap and of a good Breed some for present use wee want very much to drawe down Timber to ye waters side, and most of ye ground wee plant this yeare may be plowed the next, which would be a greate helpe to cleare the ground: I have (with what Expedicon I could) dispatched ye Carolina laden with Pine Timber some of which wilbe fitt for Masts for small ships, & poynts for windmills. The Inhabitants lent me their Assistance to bring it doune to ye waters side; I suppose they have peticon'd your Honners to take off Mr Colletons sloop hire from this place to Bermuda shee being upon that voyage about 3 months at £30 per. month, which I haue charged to ye severall Inhabitants, they haueing engaged to pay ye same (if your Honners require it) before I would signe the Bills to produce the provisions in Bermuda.

Source : CSCHS, pp. 296-300.

¹ The Barbadians were right and West mistaken.

Appendix F

The Origins of the Middletons: A Planter Profile

In view of dispute about the origin of certain South Carolina governors, some facts about the Middletons are given to challenge the validity of a Barbadian background for Governor Arthur Middleton of South Carolina. Three Middletons, Thomas, Arthur and Edward were connected with the early settlement of Carolina. Another Middleton, Benjamin, who inherited a debt encumbered plantation in Barbados, was the son of Thomas (Senr.), merchant and member in London of the Committee of Gentlemen (Planters) of Barbados with Sir Peter Colleton. Thomas sold a plantation in Antigua to one of the Yeamans and died shortly after 1671.

Thomas, possibly a son of Thomas (Senr.), left England on the *Carolina* bound for Barbados and Carolina in 1669 with his wife Elizabeth and two servants. Langdon Cheves thought they may have transhipped to the ill-fated *Port Royal* in Bridgetown. (See SP, p. 135, 137n.)

Arthur, merchant in Barbados, was given a ticket of "time-out" to travel in August 1679 from "Plantacon" in Barbados to Carolina. (See J C Hotten, *The Original List of Emigrants, 1600-1700*, (London: 1874), entry for 14 August) In 1676 and 1677 he contested a case of illegal importation of slaves via the "back part" of Barbados, conveyed in a ship of which he was part owner. (CSPC, 1677-80, No. 266) By 1682 he had been rewarded for his industry in growing wine in Carolina, although without servants, by a grant of 800 acres at Wappoo Creek. (See CSPC, 1681-85, No. 1017) He already had a Town Lot. (See *Ibid.*, No. 879)

Edward Middleton was the antecedent of the Middletons of Middleton Place who became distinguished in American history. He was the brother of Arthur above and son of Henry Middleton of Twickenham. His memorial stone in St James' Church, Goose Creek, records that he arrived in Carolina in 1678 and settled at "Oaks" near the church. He received a grant of 1,000 acres at Goose Creek in 1680. (See CSPC, 1675-76, No. 1148) He married as his second wife Sarah, widow of Richard Fowell of Barbados. Named after his uncle, Edward's son Arthur, born 1681 in Charleston, he helped overthrow the proprietary government in 1719. He married Sarah Amory, daughter of the Speaker and was Acting Governor of Carolina 1725-28. He was probably educated in England. He inherited estates in Carolina, England and, significantly, in Barbados. (See *Who Was Who in America, Historical Vol, 1607-1896, Revised Edition*, 1967, p. 427)

On this evidence, son Arthur's origin cannot be established as Barbadian and only remotely so if his father's domicile was in Barbados for some years. Edward and his son Arthur were closely associated with the Goose Creek community. Arthur's son Henry was buried in St James' Church in 1784. His grandson Arthur signed the Declaration of Independence. All trace of Thomas of the Carolina disappears. He may not have reached the palatinate. For biographical details of Edward's descendants see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 22 Vols, (OUP, London: 1933), XII, pp. 598, 599.

Source: The full details can be established in CSPC, but see especially CSPC, 1981-85, Nos. 396, 970.

Appendix G

Will of Thomas Colleton

In the name of God Amen. I Thomas Colleton of the parish of St Johns in the island of Barbados, Esq, being at this present time indisposed in health of body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, and designing to depart this island, do make publish ordain and declare this my last will and testament, hereby revoking disannulling and making void all former and other wills and testaments by me heretofore made or pretended to be made.

And whereas by deed indented bearing date the 19th day of this instant month of November in the year of Our Lord 1690 made or mentioned to be made between me the said Thomas Colleton of the one part and May my now wife and John Meade Esq. of the one part (in pursuance of the power and authority to be respectively given and granted on and by a deed of settlement made by my father Sir John Colleton, Knt and Bart, in his lifetime bearing date the fourteenth day of September in the seventeenth year of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second and by virtue of all other powers, authorities, estates and interests in me vested or to me derived) I have granted and settled a jointure on my said wife Mary Colleton during her natural life in a moiety of the estate and profits of my shareparte and purparty of the plantation and Negroes with all things thereto belonging in St John's parish wherein I now live and of other lands thereto added by a purchase lately made from the (ground or grant?) of the Vestry of the said parish and confirmed by Sir Jonathan Atkins, Knt., late Governor of this island; and also in a moiety of the estate profits and produce of my shareparte and purparty of a certain plantation, Negroes and all things thereto belonging in the parishes of St Peter and St Lucy in the said island by the said deed (notation thereto being had) may more fully appear.

Now I do hereby confirm the said deed of settlement and the estate and interest therby granted and convey in trust to and for my said wife during the time of her natural life for her jointure.

And I do hereby further direct and appoint that my said wife have and enjoy the said estate and interest so granted without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever, and in case of any such molestation or disturbance to be made that she be repaired in damages by my executor hereafter devised and bequeathed, and I do hereby also give and devise unto my said loving wife Mary Colleton and to heirs and assigns for ever these several Negroes or slaves following (to wit) one Negro man by name of Guy, one other Negro boy by name Quashey Ashoord, one Indian woman by name Juno, one Negro girl by name Brabba, one Negro woman by name Fuddy, one other woman by name Moll, one other negro woman by name Pimbo.

Also I give devise and bequeath unto my four daughters Walker Colleton, Mary Colleton, Katherine Colleton and Elizabeth Colleton the full sum of one thousand pounds sterling money apiece to each and every one of them, to be paid to each and every of them when they respectively attain to the age of one and twenty years or be married by and with the

consent and approbation of my said wife and my honourable friends His Excellency Colonel James Kendall, Governor of this island, Henry Quintyne and Nicholas Prideaux, Esqrs, or the major part of them; and in case of the death of any one of my aforesaid daughters before she arrives to her aforesaid age or before her marriage shall happen in the manner aforesaid, then I give bequeath and appoint six hundred pounds sterling, part of her portion aforesaid, shall be divided equally between her three remaining sisters at such time as such daughter should have accomplished her age of one and twenty years in case no such mortality had happened; and in case of the death of any other of my said daughters before such contingency happen to them whereby the portion above bequeathed shall become due and payable to them, that then I give and appoint one moiety of their respective portion so dying to the survivor or survivors of my said daughters.

And I hereby direct and appoint that all, every and each of my said daughters be well and sufficiently maintained with necessary accomodation of meat, drink, washing and lodging at my aforesaid plantation in St John's parish or at other convenient place at the charge of my executor hereafter named until their several respective portions aforesaid become due and are paid to them and each of them respectively.

And I also give and bequeath to them and each of them respectively thirty pounds sterling per annum for clothes and other necessaries over and above their respective accommodation aforesaid.

Also I do hereby devise and bequeath unto my aforesaid daughter Walker Colleton and to heirs and assigns for ever one Negro boy named Rinto and one mulatto girl named Betty Settubah. Also I do hereby devise and bequeath until my aforesaid daughter Mary Colleton and to heirs and assigns for ever one Negro woman by name (word not deciphered). Also I do hereby devise and bequeath unto my aforesaid daughter Katherine Colleton and to heirs and assigns for ever one Negro girl named Chambo Fuddy. Also I do hereby devise and bequeath unto my aforesaid daughter Elizabeth Colleton and to heirs and assigns for ever one Negro girl by name of Rosanna.¹

And I do hereby declare that, notwithstanding anything here in this my will contained concerning my daughters (words missing) or the manner of the bequest thereof, that it shall not be in their or any or either of their powers to give bequeath or dispose thereof of their interest therein before they or any or either of them shall actually receive the same, or that the same shall become due and payable by their attaining to their respective ages of one and twenty years or respective marriages.

And lastly, after all my debts paid, funeral discharged and legacies above bequeathed duly satisfied and paid out of whole estate real and personal in this island and elsewhere, I do hereby give bequeath and

¹The Slave Code of the Barbados Assembly of 1668 defined their status. The South Carolina Assembly adopted the same slave laws in 1696. Slaves in Barbados were treated as personal chattels. The name survives today in the picturesque and mobile "chattel houses" which are a feature of working class architecture.

devise unto my only son Peter Colleton and to his heirs executors and administrators all my lands, tenements, Negroes, hereditaments, goods and chattels, rights and credits, and all my estate real and personal whatsoever and wheresoever, desiring him to pay to my worth brother-in-law John Meade Esq. five pounds sterling each and either of them to buy rings to wear in remembrance of me.

And I do hereby nominate constitute and appoint my aforesaid son Peter Colleton sole executor of this my last will and testament, requiring him to perform the same carefully and faithfully which I have caused to be written in this and on other sheets of paper both subscribed by my own handwriting and sealed this one and twentieth day of November in the second year of the reign of our Sovereigns Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God King and Queen of England, etc. Anno Domini one thousand six hundred and ninety.

Thomas Colleton Lucus Sigill:

Signed sealed published and declared by the abovenamed Thomas Colleton Esq. for and as his last will and testament in the presence of us Patrick Meine, Elizabeth Hannay, Henry St John, Thos. Roberts.

Sworn to before J Kendall, Governor, by Hon. Henry St John and Hon. Patrick Meine on 26 March 1691, and by Mrs Elizabeth Hannay on 3 April 1691.

Source: This is a copy of the recopied will in RB. 6/41.448 in the Barbados Department of Archives. There has been some modernization of spelling, division into paragraphs and sentences, and insertion of capital letters. In a few places it seems that the original has been wrongly transcribed.

Appendix H

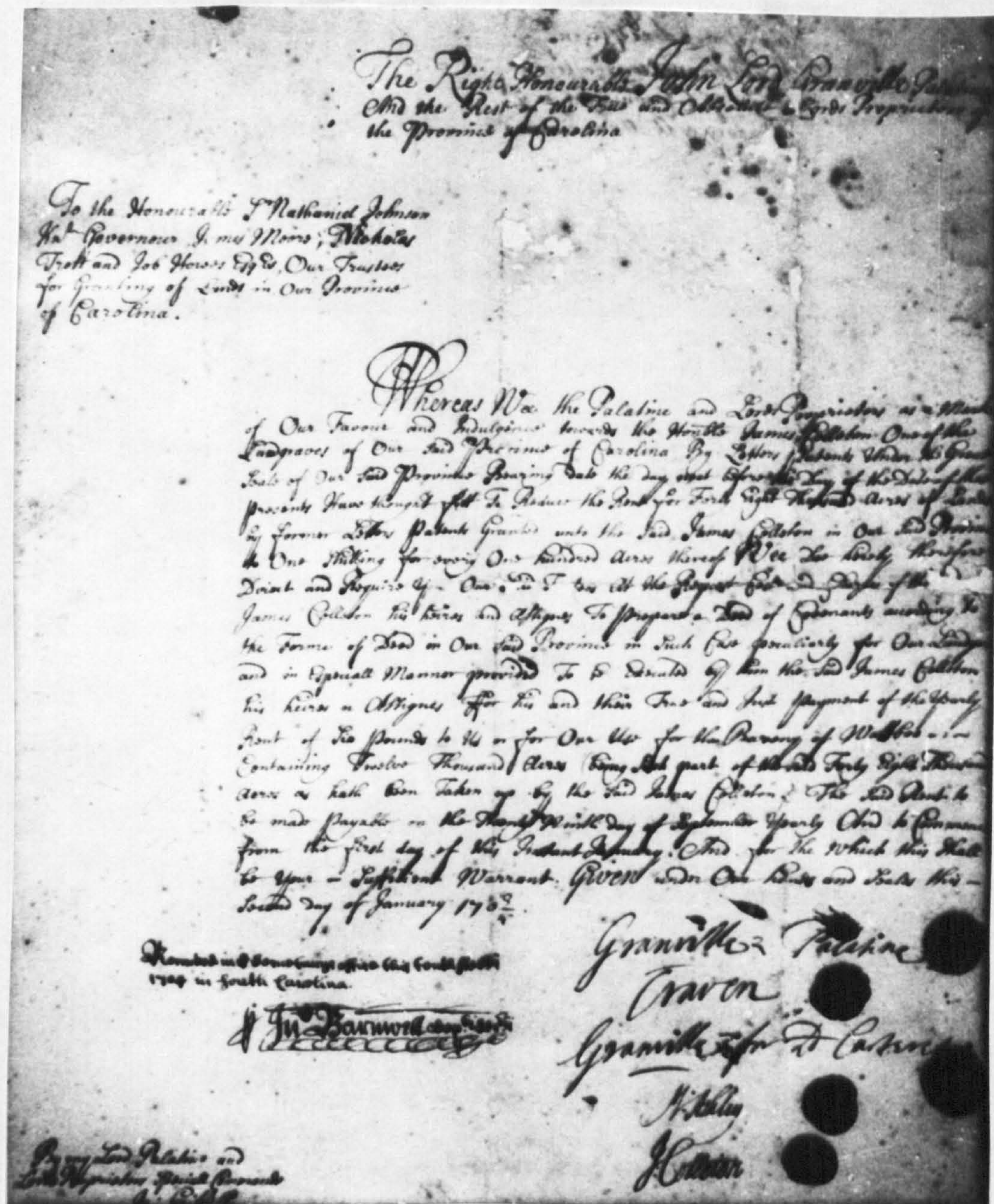
The Will of Sir Peter Colleton (1694)

Sir Peter Colleton of the parish of St. James, Middlesex, Bart, 12 January 1693-4, proved 24 April 1694. My body to be decently buried without pomp or solemnity and to be accompanied to the grave by my own family only. To my son John all my manors, lands and tenements and hereditaments &c. in England, and my lands, tenements and plantations in the Island of Barbados and in Carolina, and my eighth part or share of the Province of Carolina, with all its dominions, royalties and jurisdictions, to have and to hold to him and the heirs of his body, lawfully begotten, when he shall come to the age of one and twenty years. in the mean time my loving brother in law Col. John Leslie of the Island of Barbados and Katherine Colleton my daughter and Mr. William Thornburgh of London, merchant, or such of them as shall be within the Kingdom of England at the time of my death, shall have the guardianship, care and tuition of the said John Colleton and shall receive the rents, issues, and profits of the premises till he come to the age of one and twenty years; and I appoint them executors &c., in trust for the sole use and benefit of the said John, until he shall arrive at the age aforesaid, when he shall be my only executor. If he should die without issue before then I leave all my lands &c. in England and Carolina to my brother James Colleton and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten. To my daughter Katherine Colleton one thousand pounds and my tally for three hundred pounds lent by me and paid into their Majesties' Exchequer in the name of the said Katherine and my share and dividend thereof by virtue of an Act of Parliament made in the fourth year of their Majesties' reign entitled an Act for granting to their Majesties certain rates and duties of Excise upon Beer, Ale and other liquors, for securing certain Recompences and Advantages, in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as should voluntarily advance the sum of ten hundred thousand pounds towards carrying on the War against France. To Anne Colleton, my younger daughter, fifteen hundred pounds a year in half yearly payments. To Charles Colleton, my natural son, a rent charge of thirty pounds a year, in quarterly payments out of my lands and tenements in the County and City of Exon. To Elizabeth Johnson daughter of William Johnson and Elizabeth Johnson heretofore my wife one thousand pounds. To Barbara Thacker one hundred pounds in four months after my decease. If the said John Colleton die without issue (lawful) before coming to the age of twenty one then all my personal estate shall be equally divided between my two daughters Katherine Colleton and Ann Colleton and the said Elizabeth Johnson. And in such case, and not otherwise, I give to the said Charles Colleton three hundred pounds. If the said John die without lawful issue male before coming to age and the said James die without lawful issue male &c. then all my real estate shall come to my right heirs &c. Anthony Weldon of the Middle Temple, Esq., and John Hothershall of Guiddy Hall, Rumford, Essex, Esq. to be overseers. The son proved the Will 31 January, 1700.

Source: H.F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, 2 Vols, (Illinois: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1901: reprinted 1983), II, pp. 716, 717.

Appendix J

Proprietary Rent Receipt

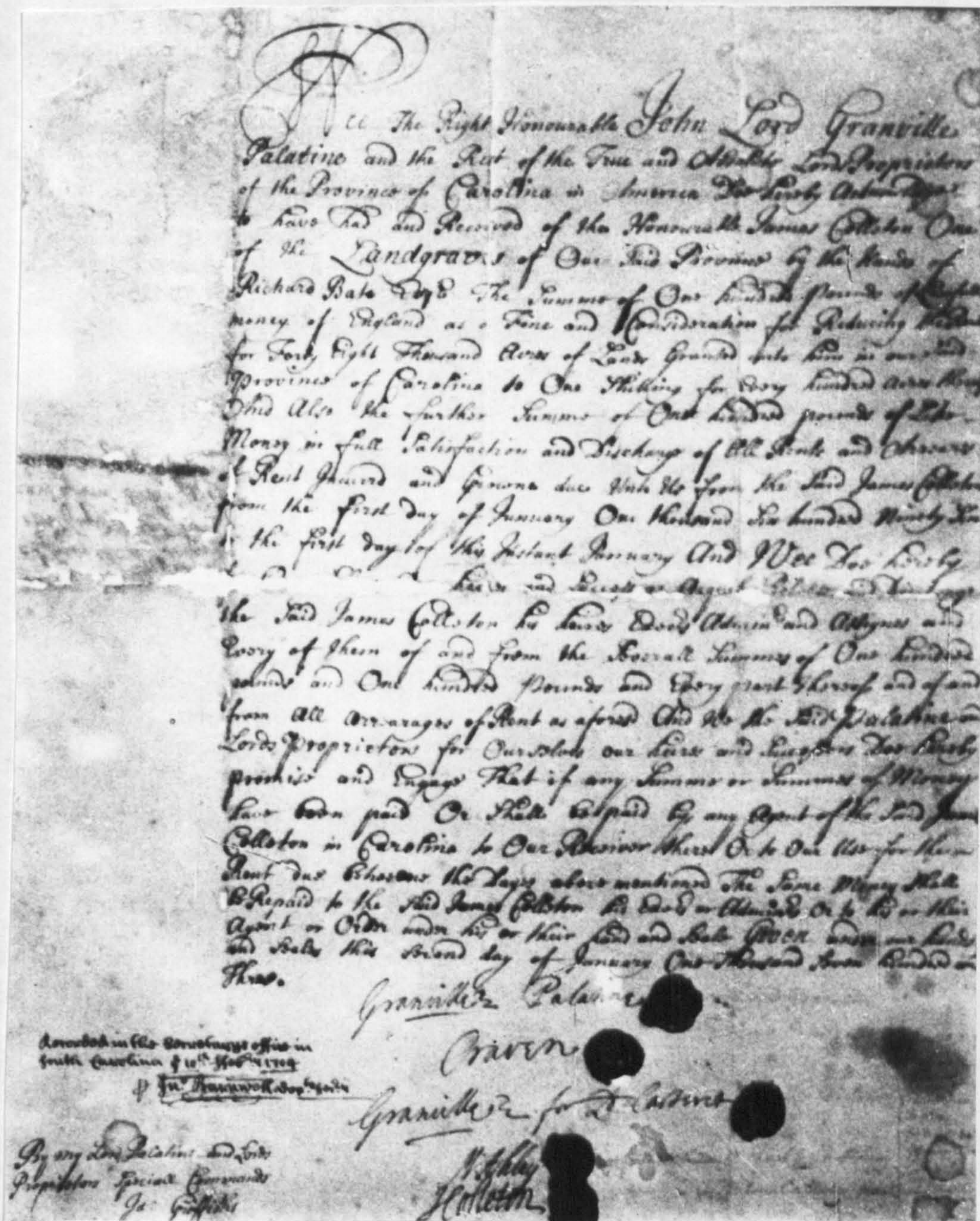


Original Proprietary rent reduction to one shilling per hundred acres for James Colleton in respect of 48,000 acres as a mark of favour and indulgence. Also a receipt for Six Pounds annual rent for Wadboo Barony, containing twelve thousand acres of land, taken up within this total. Authority addressed to The Hon. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Knight Governor, and Trustees James Moore, Nicholas Trott and Job Howes, all Councillors. Signed by Lord Granville, Palatine; Lord Craven; M Ashley and Sir John Colleton II. Dated 2 January 1703/4. Recorded and signed by John Barnwell, Deputy Surveyor, 1704.

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Appendix K

Proprietary Rent Receipt



Original Proprietary receipt to James Colleton for £100 in English money in consideration of a rent reduction on 48,000 acres, his full potential entitlement as a Landgrave, to one shilling per 100 acres taken up. Also further sum of £100 if like money received in full satisfaction and discharge of all rents grown due from 1 January 1696 to 1 January 1703. Signed by Lord Granville, Palatine; Lord Craven; Maurice Ashley and Sir John Colleton II. Recorded and signed by John Barnwell, Deputy Surveyor of South Carolina, 1704. (John Barnwell was great-grandfather of Governor Thomas Boone's wife Sarah Perroneau (nee Tattnall), a renowned Indian fighter and Secretary to the Council of South Carolina.)

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Appendix L

Copy of a letter from Colonel William Cleland to Sir John Colleton II, dated October 1712, relating to the dispute between him and Mr John Colleton, about an estate in Barbados.

Sir,

I have lately two letters from your Cousin Mr John Colleton in Barbados, in which he has directed me to propose to you, that if you will come to a conclusion of the law dispute that has been of a long standing between you, he will pay you a sum of money, or if you don't approve of that...if you will produce your books he will produce his, settle all the accounts and then provided you will waive any pretence to his uncle Mr John Colleton's part of the estate in dispute, which he avers is his right as appears by the opinion of the most learned Council in this kingdom that then he will give you possession of your part of the Plantations. I have discoursed Mr Richardson your brother-in-law who tells me that you are ready to produce your books. But as to the part of your uncle Mr John Colleton you are advised it is your own right and therefore you will not part with it. Now this difference in opinion between the Gentlemen of the Law must arise from a wrong state of the case either of one side or the other. Therefore I presume to make the proposition that you will please give me, with Mr Colleton's counsel, a meeting with you and your counsel that this matter of the uncle's part may be settled and then I see a short and sudden end of this expensive lawsuit. This I am sure will be more truly determined by those eminent persons of the law here than by the Council of Barbadoes and will be a most certain advantage to you. I declare in the propositions there appears to be in Mr Colleton such a disposition to justice and peace that I beg leave if you don't think fit to close with them that you will remember that you have had those offers from me in Mr Colleton's behalf and that I do aver to you as a friend, as much to you as to Mr Colleton, that if your lawyers and attorney in Barbados don't approve of these terms then they are deluding you to your prejudice, too likely for their own private ends. As for my own part I have nor can have no other view in this but an amicable conclusion of an affair that if self-interested people continue to have the management of it may make it even survive the parties concerned if it be possible for them to do so. Mr Colleton is not at all apprehensive of any weakness in his title but being tired to see you struggling under such an expensive contention and that from a principle of self-defence is obliged to be at great charge, also makes there overtures that you may agree and rather cheat the Lawyers than be any longer cheated by them.

I am, Sir,

Your most assured humble servant
Wm. Cleland

Octo: 8th 1712.

Source : PRO, CO 28/14, ff. 52, 53.

1. Uncle John was the third son of Sir John I who died in 1668 shortly after his duel with the son of Sir John Yeamans.
2. Sir Peter, father of Sir John II, inherited half of the Windward Plantation and half of the $\frac{3}{4}$ Colleton share of the Leeward Plantation under Sir John II's Deed of Settlement (HHA, D/4). The other half was to be left equally between each of the three other sons. The seventeen year lawsuit was related to the apportionment of the one-sixth share of the prematurely deceased John. The amount in dispute was the difference between a one-sixth or a quarter share each for James and Peter. Peter died in 1717, the year of final settlement.

Appendix M

Extracts from John Colleton's Account Book (HHA, Book 16)

| | | | | |
|---------------|---|--------|----|---|
| 21 Dec. 1723 | Capt. Holland for my passage (from Barbados) | 50 | - | - |
| Mar. 1724 | Sir Joseph Eyles Received off him | 100 | - | - |
| 1724 | Received in England off Mr. Kendall which lent him in Barbados (natural son of Governor Kendall and Miss Walker Colleton - J.C.'s first cousin) | 23 | - | - |
| 17 Nov. 1724 | For my son's schooling pd. 1 Jan. 1725 (James Edward and John at Eton. See School Lists 1725 HHA, M/23) | 107 | - | - |
| 17 Dec. 1724 | First Entry House in Bond Street | 700 | - | - |
| 25 Mar. 1725 | | 700 | - | - |
| 1725 | Mending Master John's watch | - | 10 | - |
| 19 April 1727 | Ship Hothersall for my 1/16th part cost | 164 | - | - |
| | Payment of 150£ insured | 4 | 7 | 3 |
| 1728 | Ship Hothersall 1/16th dividend recd. 23 Dec. 1727 | 18 | 4 | 6 |
| 1729 | Ship Hothersall 1/16 dividend recd. for 3rd voyage | 15 | 10 | 6 |
| 1729 | Mr. John's admission 6 June 1728 | 58 | 15 | 6 |
| | Allowances for both sons - per quarter | 70 | - | - |
| 1730 | Ship Hothersall 1/16th dividend - 4th voyage | 9 | 7 | 6 |
| 1730 | Recd. part of debt due from Col Maycock of Barbados | 172 | - | 5 |
| 1730 | Sons learning to ride | 13 | 15 | - |
| 10 June 1732 | 5 bags of Bread for the Doggs | 1 | 10 | - |
| 1732 | Ship Hothersall - div. on 6th voyage | 16 | 5 | - |
| 1732 | 5th | 16 | 5 | - |
| 1732 | 8th | 12 | 10 | - |
| 1733 | Gold Watch | 11 | 5 | 0 |
| 1734 | Allowances to sons - 1/2 yr. to Lady Day 1734 James | 300 | - | - |
| - | 1/2 yr. to Michaelmas 1734 James | 300 | - | - |
| - | 1/2 yr. to Michaelmas 1734 John | 80 | - | - |
| 1732/3 | Bought £2,000 South Sea Stock | £2,093 | - | - |
| 1735/6 | Sold £1,250 @ 82 1/8th | 1,026 | - | - |
| 1736/7 | Carolina Estate per Gadsden, on Symond & Co. 25 May 1736 | 37 | 10 | - |
| 1737/8 | Ship Hothersall 1-16th div. 12th voyage | 8 | 15 | - |
| | Carolina Estate Recd. from Gadsden 15 Apr. 1737 | 37 | 10 | - |
| 1737/8 | Carolina Estate Recd. from Thomas Gadsden 21 Dec. last as per Es. Account date 9 Inst. | 80 | - | - |
| 1738/9 | Mr. James - 1 yr. 1738 to Lady Day | 600 | - | - |

| | | | | |
|---------|---|---------------|----------|----------|
| | Mr. John - $\frac{1}{4}$ 1738 | 17 | 10 | - |
| | <i>Carolina Estate Bill from Capt. Gadsden</i> | 112 | 10 | - |
| 1739/40 | John 1 yr. | 70 | - | - |
| | James | 600 | - | - |
| 1741 | <i>Carolina Estate per Thos. Gadsden for Jos. Kesbill of Bristol (Gadsden died the same year)</i> | 50 | - | - |
| 1741/2 | Per Mr Byng for 2 yr. rent of Weld Hall to midsummer 1741 (and periodically thereafter to 1750) | 105 | - | - |
| 1745/6 | $\frac{1}{16}$ th div. and sale of Ship Hothersall | 48 | 18 | 8 |
| 1745 | Present of regimentals to Capt. Colleton | | | |
| 1746 | Allowances James $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. | 300 | - | - |
| | John $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. | 50 | - | - |
| 1748 | To balance and close of Account | <u>10,782</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>6</u> |

Accounts taken over by William Whitaker

| | | | | |
|------|--|-----|---|---|
| 1750 | Sons 1 yr. James | 600 | - | - |
| | Col. John | 100 | - | - |
| 1750 | Rent of Eleston $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. (instead of Weld Hall) | 218 | - | - |
| 1753 | Col. Colleton $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. | 100 | - | - |

Valuation recorded by James Edward Colleton on death of father 19/12/1755

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------|---|---|
| House in Bond St. | 1,400 | | | |
| South Sea Old annuities | 13,612 | | | |
| New | 12,722 | | | |
| Cash | 1,050 | | | |
| " | 1,137 | | | |
| " | 28 | | | |
| Wm. Whitaker Balance of Acct. | 4,338 | | | |
| Bankers | <u>1,269</u> | 35,606 | - | - |

Account 25 March 1756 to 25 March 1757

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------|---|---|
| Colebrooke & Co. | 1,544 | - | - |
| House in George St. - pd. rent | 53 | - | - |
| Colebrooke & Co. | 1,078 | - | - |

Appendix N

Sugar Sales

Extracted from Accounts in Appendix M (figures in brackets are estimated)

Casks received from Barbados

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Average Annual Crop: | 123 Casks (probably Hogsheads) |
| Average Annual Yield per Cask: | £17.9 |
| Average Annual Revenue: | £2,202 |

| Entry | | £ Sales | Casks | Crop Yr. | £ Yield Per Cask |
|---------|---------|---------|-------|----------|---------------------|
| 15 Apr. | 1725 | 2,683 | 142 | (1724) | 18.89 |
| 1 Apr. | 1726 | 1727 | 87 | (1725) | 19.85 |
| | | 1,089 | (56) | 1727 | (19.45) |
| 7 Feb. | 1728 | 1,562 | 80 | 1727 | 19.52 |
| | | | | | Av. 1725-28 = 19.33 |
| 9 Oct. | 1729 | 1,575 | (87) | 1728 | (18.00) |
| 31 Dec. | 1729 | 1,897 | (105) | (1728) | (18.00) |
| Apr. | 1732 | 1,727 | 110 | (1730) | 15.70 |
| May | 1732 | 949 | 61 | (1730) | 15.55 |
| Sep. | 1732 | 1,190 | 81 | 1731 | 14.70 |
| Dec. | 1732 | 631 | 51 | 1731 | 12.27 |
| | 1733 | 1,080 | 71 | 1732 | 15.21 |
| | 1735/6 | 1,467 | 101 | (1735) | 14.52 |
| | 1739/40 | 1,479 | 95 | (1739) | 15.57 |
| | | | | | Av. 1732-40 = 14.95 |
| | 1742/3 | 2,595 | 150 | 1741 | 17.30 |
| | 1743 | 2,894 | 151 | 1742 | 19.16 |
| | 1744 | 2,558 | 123 | 1743 | 20.80 |
| | 1749 | 2,100 | 125 | 1748 | 16.80 |
| | 1752 | 1,439 | 72 | 1751 | 19.99 |
| | 1754 | 2,953 | 125 | (1753) | 23.62 |
| | 1756 | 2,267 | 100 | 1755 | 22.67 |
| | | | | | Av. 1743-56 = 19.87 |

Summary 1725-1756

Crop in Cases (Average 123 Casks)

| | | |
|----------|---------|------|
| Best | 1728 | :192 |
| 2nd best | 1730(?) | :171 |
| 3rd best | 1742 | :151 |
| 4th best | 1741 | :150 |

Price (Average per Cask £17.9)

| | | |
|------|---------|----------------|
| 1754 | :£23.62 | :Average yield |
| 1756 | :£22.67 | :Average yield |
| 1744 | :£20.80 | :Average yield |
| 1752 | :£19.99 | :Poor yield |

NB: Crop acreages may have varied annually. Missing years, in which crop may have failed, are not taken into account. It is possible that the crop and sales figures are not total figures for the Colleton Plantations.

Appendix P

Francis Kinloch Ward of Governor Thomas Boone

Coincidence and affinity in a relatively small colonial community can be demonstrated by the following synopsis centred on Francis Kinloch:

Francis Kinloch, aged eleven and his younger brother *Cleland*, both of Carolina, became wards of *Governor Thomas Boone* on the death of their father in 1767. Their emigrant grandfather had been disinherited from the Kinloch baronetcy. Boone sent them to his old school, Eton. While at Eton Francis save *Lord North's* son from drowning and became a friend of his family. Francis completed his education in Geneva where his companion was *John Laurens*, who became the brilliant ADC to *George Washington*. John's father was *Henry Laurens*, a childhood friend of *Christopher Gadsden*, the cause of Governor Boone's downfall. Christopher Gadsden's father, *Thomas*, traded on behalf of *James Colleton's* son *John* in the 1730s for the crop of his Mepshoo and Wadboo Plantations, possibly as agent. John Colleton's daughter-in-law left Mepshoo to Governor Thomas Boone. Following confiscation, a large part of Boone's property was acquired by Francis Kinloch. Boone's first cousin and co-great-great-grandson of Sir John Colleton I, *Charles Garth*, was in regular correspondence with both Laurens and Gadsden as Agent for South Carolina. He was a colleague of *Benjamin Franklin*, who succeeded him as Agent for Georgia. Francis Kinloch was a secessionist. He first married *Mildred Walker*, grand-daughter of *Thomas Walker*, guardian of *Thomas Jefferson* and, secondly *Martha Rutledge*, daughter of the Southern statesman and independent Governor of South Carolina, *John Rutledge*. Francis was captured in 1781 by his first cousin, another Francis Kinloch, from Gilmerton, East Lothian, serving under the infamous *Colonel Banastre Tarleton* of the British Army. The Carolinian Francis had spent a holiday at Gilmerton in 1778. He was prevented from running when his cousin shouted, "You know I can run faster than you Cousin Francis". Carolinian Kinloch's nephew, *Francis Huger*, assisted in *Lafayette's* attempt to escape from Olmutz. Francis Kinloch became a member of the Continental Congress. The Gilmerton Francis inherited the Kinloch baronetcy in 1795 and was murdered shortly afterwards by his deranged brother *Alexander*, whose health had declined after service in the West Indies.

Source: Details extracted mainly from Felix Gilbert, ed., "Letters of Francis Kinloch to Thomas Boone, 1782-1788," *JSH*, Vol VIII (1942), pp. 87-105; G.C. Rogers and D.R. Chesnutt, eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. IX.

Appendix Q

Garth Letter Books in HHA Analysis of Letters Written from 30 July 1762 to 15 March 1774

Letters to Committees of Correspondence

492 typed pages: 3 1/2 typed pages per letter

Frequency

Average 4 1/2 weeks

Longest Letter - 19 January 1766
(Report on Pitt's speech, etc)

26 typed pages

Busiest Year - 1766 (Activity over Repeal of Stamp Act)

24 letters (including 26 page letter above) 1 letter per fortnight: 71 typed pages

Notes:

An additional twenty letters were written by Garth between 31/3/1774 and 17/7/1775 to the South Carolina Committee of Correspondence which are not included in GLB, Vol. II. Copies of letters in GLB, Vol. II, are held in SCDAH. I am not aware of alternative sources for letters in *Volume I* of Garth's own Letter Books except the publications of L B Namier, particularly "Charles Garth, Agent", *EHR*, LIV, (October 1939), pp. 632-653, and *England During the American Revolution* (London, 1961), pp. 240, 251-4. The sources I have used are summarised overleaf. Garth also wrote 23 letters to the Governor Lord Charles Montagu and probably a large number to Governor Thomas Boone, none of which is included in the type-copied Letter Books.

Appendix R

Garth Letter Books: Number of Letters from Garth to his Committees of Correspondence from 1762 to 1775

| Totals | To/Source | Year | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------------|-----------|--------------------|
| 135 | S. Carolina | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 58 ⁵ | GLB, Vol. I, pp. 1-293 | From 5/6/62 ¹ | 5 | 9 | 14 ² | 7 | 15 ² | 8 | To 12/2/67 | | | | | | | |
| 61 | GLB, Vol. II, pp. 1-199 | From 12/2/67 | | | | | | 2 ³ | 11 ⁴ | 9 ⁴ | 10 | 7 | 9 | 9 ^{1*} | 4 | To 15/3/74 |
| 4 | BT | From 31/3/74 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 | |
| 12 | SCDAH | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 9 To 27/7/75 |
| 10 | Georgia | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | GLB, Vol. I | | | | | | 5 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | GLB, Vol. II | | | | | | | 1 | 4 | | | | | | | |
| 18 | Maryland | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | GLB, Vol. I | | | | | | 4 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | GLB, Vol. II | | | | | | | 8 | 3 | 2 | | | | | | |
| 163 | Grand Totals | | 5 | 9 | 14 | 7 | 24 | 20 | 18 | 11 | 10 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 9 |

Notes:
1. First letter from CCSC was 5 June 1762.
2. One to Speaker.
3. One to Charleston Merchants.
4. Three to Charleston Merchants.
5. 24 cited by Namier.

*Last letter from CCSC to Garth recorded in *Lauren's Papers*, Vol. V, Appendix A, is 16 September 1773. Précis in HHA of last CCSC letter is dated 24 March 1774, WG7/19.

Abbreviations:
GLB Garth Letter Books, HHA
BT Bancroft Transcripts, NYPL.
SCDAH South Carolina Department of Archives and History
HHA Haines Hill Archive

Bibliography

Note on Sources

A large number of primary documents is available, both in public and private hands. These documents are more extensive for the 17th century and late 18th century than the intervening period. The Shaftesbury Papers at the Public Record Office, Kew, the Lovelace MSS at Bodleian Library, the "Shaftesbury Papers and other records relating to Carolina prior to the year 1676", edited by Langdon Cheves and published in the *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, Vol. V (1897), all contain correspondence relating to the early settlement of Carolina. Of considerable help have also been the voluminous Garth Letter Books covering the period of Charles Garth's Agency of South Carolina (June 1762 to January 1775), together with supporting family correspondence and documents.

Some additional explanation is required about the Garth Letter Books in view of recent and inadvertent misconceptions about their location. The original *outgoing* letters were type copied and bound into two volumes before 1910 to avoid the possibility of loss. This was fortuitous as Garth's handwritten copies *were* "lost" between 1905 and 1910. The typed volumes have always been held at Haines Hill, Twyford, Reading, Berkshire. Not all of Garth's letters to his Agencies are incorporated. Some addressed to South Carolina, especially for the period April 1774 to May 1775, which would have fitted in at the end of the correspondence in the second letter book, are not included. These are precisely recorded by G.C. Rogers and D.R. Chesnutt, eds., in *The Papers of Henry Laurens, 1 September 1765 to 31 June 1768*, (Columbia: South Carolina Historical Society, 1976), Vol. V, Appendix A, pp. 763-775, who recount the history of the letter books and also provide an excellent check list of sources. The very few mistakes I have detected in the Appendix to *The Papers* are the inadvertent omission of a few letters and the inclusion of some spurious ones due to errors by other authors. In the introduction to the Checklist of Garth letters Rogers and Chesnutt record that the second volume was missing at the visit of G.C. Rogers to Haines Hill in 1975. The

Appendix therefore shows no "Godsal Letter Book" source after 25 November 1767.¹ The second volume was temporarily in use elsewhere.

Recent work on the career of Charles Garth has used largely the available American transcripts and copies of his letters and the pre-Second World War work of Lewis Namier on the period 1755 to 1765.² It has not included a number of private letters introduced for the first time in Chapter 12.³ Charles Garth's Letter Books are quoted extensively in the Chapter. Most of the quotations from the first of the two volumes do not repeat those used by Namier. He is one of the few historians to have had unlimited access to both volumes.

Garth's letters to Committees of Correspondence are of considerable length and he excuses their "prolixity" on the grounds that it is better to be too verbose than too brief in communicating events to those who have to react to them. His great-grandson, Captain William Godsal, wrote opposite the first page of Volume I of the Letter Books:

These letters should be read rather as memoranda, or précis of the original letters: this can be judged because the later letters (in second book, etc.) are much more fluent and intelligible - that is perhaps when affairs became more important.⁴

I cannot detect any abbreviation by Garth or the copyist in the first volume, only typing errors and the substitution of "the" for "ye". If a twenty-six page letter is a précis, one must pity the reader of the unabridged version. Garth had a formidable memory. His reports of

¹"Godsal" refers here to ownership rather than authorship and is a confusing mis-use. The Letter Books have always been known by his family as the *Garth Letter Books*, after the author, in the conventional manner.

²Recent authors have included, especially, Michael G. Kammen, *A Rope of Sand: The Colonial Agents, British Politics and the American Revolution*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), G.C. Rogers and D.R. Chesnutt, eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 9 vols., (Columbia, S.C.: SCHS, 1976), V, Ella Lonn, *The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies*, (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1945). Garth's official letters are in GLB, I, II (HHA, Book 27). See Appendices Q, R and Bibliography.

³CGP.

⁴GLB, I.

parliamentary proceedings, presumably from notes, demonstrate scrupulous accuracy and exacting care, appropriate professional qualities for a barrister dedicated to the interests of his client. The novelty is mainly in the private letters between Garth and his family. These were not seen by Namier, nor did he quote fully from all the pre-repeal letters from Garth to his committees. Some letters to and from Georgia and Maryland are also quoted, particularly if they illustrate different aspects of Garth's agency relationships. Previously, quotations from them have been used infrequently except by Namier, presumably because the only composite record was Garth's own. Garth was more matter of fact and less obsequious in his letters to non-Carolinian Committees of Correspondence. Some of the *incoming* letters to Charles Garth were précised c. 1890 by Captain William Godsal, his great-grandson, before Garth's original letter books and correspondence to him from the South Carolina Assembly were lost. Captain Godsal's notes in the Haines Hill archive have been quoted in the thesis.

Volume I of the Garth Letters (5 June 1762 to 15 November 1767) was first researched professionally by Sir Lewis Namier in the late 1920s. A letter from Mr Leverton Harris in 1926 sought an introduction for Namier to Captain W.C. Godsal.⁵ Captain Godsal annotated the letter:

Mr Leverton Harris started the business with Namier whom he sent here....Finding Mr Namier to be a good sort of chap, I helped him....

Namier's article on Garth's agency followed, thirteen years later, in the *English Historical Review*.⁶ The second volume (12 February 1767 to 12 March 1774) was not analysed by Namier due to other pressures. He said of the Garth Letter Books in July 1939 that they were, "replete with the most important and interesting information; but they remain unpublished and practically unused".⁷ Rather surprisingly, and coincidentally, a copy of

⁵Letter on behalf of the Rt. Hon. F. Leverton Harris to Captain Godsal, dated 31 August 1926. HHA, Box 17, Pkt 62, Enc. 11.

⁶"Charles Garth, Agent", pp. 632-652.

⁷"Charles Garth", p. 443.

the second volume of the typed letters on which Namier had no time to work, with identical pagination to the original typewritten second volume at Haines Hill, was "discovered" or "found" by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History early in 1927.⁸ They did not "find" a copy of the first volume which Namier had researched and later wrote-up. The South Carolina Department of Archives and History, at that time the Historical Commission, published the letters contained in the second volume. After writing his initial monograph on Charles Garth, Namier remarked that he had hoped to complete it one day: "Of this I no longer see a chance, and I must therefore leave the task to other hands".⁹

Abbreviations

Some conventional abbreviations in quoted 17th and 18th century letters have been expanded to simplify reading.

Place Names

The 1670 settlement at Albemarle Point, South Carolina, has been given the original spelling of Charles Town(e). The new town near Oyster Point established in 1680 has been given the modern spelling of Charleston.

Italics

Italics used in the text and citations are all mine

⁸These are the words used by Joseph W. Barnwell, SCHGM, Vol. XXVIII, (1927), pp. 80, 226.

Barnwell also wrote "Hon. Charles Garth M.P., the last Colonial Agent of South Carolina in England, and some of his work", SCHGM Vol XXVI, (1925), No. 2, p. 67 et seq. The biographical details on p. 68 of the article were taken from the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, Vol II, (n.d.), p. 332, but are inaccurate in five respects.

⁹"Charles Garth, Agent", p. 652.

Source Materials

a. Unpublished

Barbados Department of Archives, Black Rock, St Michael, Barbados

Copies of Colleton Deeds (RB3) and Wills (RB6).

(See Appendices A, B, G)

Copy of Deed of Settlement; Sir John Colleton I: 13 September 1665.
(Damaged. HHA D/4 is the legible original.)

Bodleian Library

Lovelace MSS., C6, C30 (John Locke's minutes of the Carolina Proprietary and two letters from Sir Peter Colleton to John Locke)

MSS. 81, f.170b (Grant of retail wine licence to Sir John Colleton I and others).

British Museum

Add. MSS., 11411 (Compounding: John Colleton)

32834, 32873, 32907 (Duke of Newcastle's Correspondence)

Egerton MSS., 2395, *A Briefe Relation of the Beginning and Ending of the Troubles of the Barbados, with the True Causes Thereof* by A.B.

MSS., 644(4), Appendix X, *King's Pamphlets*, (London, 1651).

Hardwicke MSS., 35910 (Thomas Boone)

Sloane MSS., 3662, (The Dutch in Barbados).

Edinburgh University Main Library

Letter of M. Mathews, 18 May 1680, La. II, 718/1, (Laing Collection)

Haines Hill Archive, Haines Hill, Twyford, Reading, Berkshire

J.E. Buchanan, *Haines Hill*, (1965, revised 1987), privately produced reference manual with condensed biographies and trees mainly extracted from HHA sources.

Deed of Settlement of Sir John Colleton I: 13 September 1665 (D/4).

Sir John Colleton II: indenture of 1717 (unreferenced; filed with D/4).

John Colleton's Accounts, 1723-55. (Book 16)

Will of John Colleton: 1729/31. (Unreferenced)

James Edward Colleton's correspondence. (Box 7, File L).

Will of James Edward Colleton: 1773 (Box 8)

Garth Letter Books, 1762-74, 2 Vols., (typescript volumes, made c. 1910, from Charles Garth's own copies). (Book 27)

Twenty-five brief précis of letters from American colonies to Charles Garth, 1763-72. (Précis of originals made by W.C. Godsal, c. 1890)

Private correspondence of Charles Garth and his wife, 1763-84. (Box 7, File M)

Letter on behalf of L.B. Namier to W.C. Godsal, 31 August 1926. (Box 17, Pkt. 62, Encl. 11)

Unreferenced South Carolina Material

Charter of Carolina: Sir John Colleton I, 1665.

Landgrave's Patent: James Colleton, 1671.

Land Grant, Mepshoo: Sir Peter Colleton and brothers, 1681.

Two Rent Receipts from Lords Proprietors to James Colleton, 1704.

Devon Record Office, Exeter

Will of Peter Colleton, 1 July 1622.
Exeter Corporation Act Book, 1662.

Hertfordshire County Record Office, County Hall, Hertford SG13 8DE

Panshanger MSS. (Diaries of Lady Anne Colleton)

Historical Manuscripts Commission

Fourteenth Report, (London: 1894), Appendix Part III, p. 114,
(Marchmont Papers.)
Letter from Sir John Cochrane to Governor Morton (c. 1685).
(Settlement of Scots from the Borders).

New York Public Library

Bancroft Transcripts. (Four letters from Charles Garth to Committee
of Correspondence, South Carolina, 1774.)

Public Record Offices

Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LR

Shaftesbury Papers.

Kew, Richmond, Surrey, TWA 9DU

Colonial Office papers.

Series CO1, Vols. 21, 23; CO5, Vols. 286, 288, 290, 292, 323.7, 358,
378, 398, 1265, K.116, Q. 74-7; CO 28, Vols. 1, 3, 4, 14; CO 389,
Vol. 5; CO 391, Vol. 3; AD 13, Vol 125.

Register House, Edinburgh

Murraythwaite Muniments (Letter of 1763 concerning reputation of
Governor Thomas Boone)

Royal Institution of Cornwall (Muniment Room), River Street, Truro, Cornwall

Will of Thomas Kendall, K/1/33.

Will of John Kendall, K/1/36.

Sheffield City Libraries

Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments (Thos. Boone correspondence
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South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S.C. (SCDAH)

Twelve transcript letters from Charles Garth to Committee of
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W.R. Crabbe, Scrapbook.

Map of Exeter, 1587: engraved by R. Hogenburg, commissioned and
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